

A
R E P L Y
T O
Mr. ABRAHAM BOURN'S
FREE and CANDID
CONSIDERATIONS:
S H E W I N G

The *Impropriety and Incompetency* of that Work, considered as an
Answer to the *Preface* of a Book (not then published) intitled,

T H E
C H R I S T I A N I T Y
O F
The New Testament.

Which *Preface* was occasionally written in Vindication of the Au-
thor's Conformity to the Church of *England*, contrary to his
Education, upon Arguments of Religion and Polity.

With a P R E F A C E,

Addressed to the Gentlemen of the *Presbyterian* Persuasion, espe-
cially in L I V E R P O O L.

By P E T E R W H I T F I E L D.

THE SECOND EDITION.

L I V E R P O O L:

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Exchange. MDCCLVII.

THE

M. ABRAHAM BOURN

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED

CONSIDERATIONS:

THE

The object of this work is to show that the principles of the Christian religion are in accordance with the principles of the natural religion.

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CHRISTIANITY



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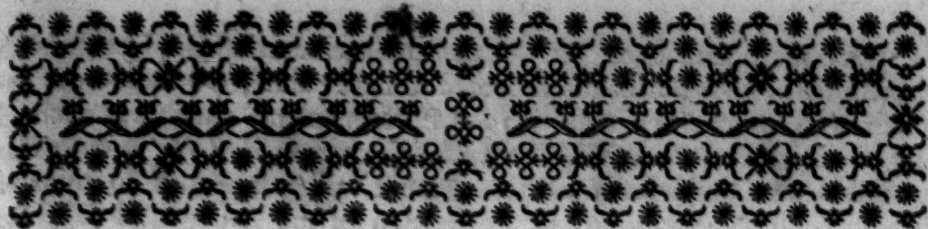
Addressed to the Government of the British Museum.

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

*Addressed particularly to the Gentlemen and others of the Presby-
terian Persuasion in L I V E R P O O L.*

G E N T L E M E N,

AS many of you as remember the Time when so trifling an Event as my Conformity happened; may perhaps also remember that that Step of my Conduct had no Manner of Relation to any Quarrel or Misunderstanding with any of your Profession; but that contrariwise, the Chief of my Prospect for the Advantage of my secular Affairs, might justly seem to depend (as it did) upon the Interest I had with some of the principal Persons then in Town of that Character.— I beg Leave now to declare the Affair really was so, and that my Conformity was entirely the Result of a Train of the most disinterested Reasoning I had for some Time prosecuted; the same as described in the Preface, and upon which I had taken Opportunity of debating with Gentlemen and others of the most eminent Character, both of the Ministers and Laics of your Communion. The Result was the Establishment of a disinterested Conviction, that it was my Duty to become a Member of the Established Church.

AND I desire you, Gentlemen, will believe (*what you may easily reply is not worth your Consideration*) that I had not in Consequence of this Change of Conviction and Conduct, the least Diminution of that Esteem, Regard and Friendship I before had with a valuable Number of your Character and Society.

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I HAD,

I HAD, more than once, on Occasion of accidental slight Debates with learned Men of your Persuasion, proposed to have published our different Apprehensions, for general Satisfaction and Entertainment, which was declined *from the Consideration of Difference of Character and Hazard.* This superseded all Consideration of that Nature, till I happened to think of writing against the *Socinians*, in Vindication of the Evangelical Doctrine of Salvation by the Merits and Sacrifice of Jesus Christ. On this Occasion I easily conceived the Design of taking the Opportunity described in the Preface, to write an Apology to the Dissenters for my leaving their Communion, which I endeavoured to do entirely in Consistence with that Calmness and dispassionate Regard to Truth, which should attend all Debates; and with that cordial Esteem and Friendship mentioned above. And I think this Reply, and whatever is or may appear disagreeable in it, must be wholly imputed to Mr. *Bourn's* (I apprehend imprudent) Resolution to publish his Conceptions, without allowing himself to consider how far they were inadequate to his Intention and Profession.

THIS, Gentlemen, I take the Opportunity of saying to you, as it was necessary to write a short Preface, to give you and others an Account of so uncommon and irregular an Affair, as is the Publishing of a Preface to a Book, which hath not yet appeared, nor perhaps ever may, (though the Contrary is designed.)

THE Beginning of this *Reply*, hath, in some Sort done this, by relating how Mr. *Bourn* came to have the Opportunity to read the Preface to which he happened to find in himself, and to indulge an Inclination to compose and print his FREE and CANDID CONSIDERATIONS, as an Answer, &c. His publishing whereof, made it, in some Sort, necessary, the Preface itself should appear, though the Book it is designed to be prefixed to, is not yet compleated; some embarrassing Occurrences having, hitherto unavoidably, intermitted my Attention thereto. But, having, in the mean Time, had Opportunity to compose the Preface; upon the favourable Censure of some Gentlemen of great Ingenuity and Learning, I caused an Impression thereof to be made, more numerous than I designed for the Book; that as it is upon a different Subject, some such might have an Opportunity of reading it, as might not be equally disposed to the other. So that a Few of the Copies thereof were given out without Publication (none sold) before I happened to put it into Mr. *Bourn's* Hand.

I HAVE, in the *Reply*, acquainted my Readers, that upon my Perusal of his Manuscript, I rather, as far as I durst, dissuaded him from printing it, (especially without Correction of some Things I thought improper) as I believed it would not be of much Honour to him, being by no Means adequate to the Purpose he pretended it to be for, though I told him I believed it would sell. His Book is no more than a pretty handsome Collection and Representation of the most common-place Topics usually urged in popular Vindications of Non-conformity; but bears no Manner of Proportion to the Scope of my Preface, nor so much as enters upon any Thing like a serious, hardly a superficial Consideration of that Summary, decisive Argument, which I have there advanced in Justification of my Conduct, with Respect to Conformity, contrary to my Education, and of Conformity in

General:

General: Against which, upon the maturest and most disinterested Deliberation, I could, (I can) think of very little, or rather nothing at all, which may properly be alledged. In which Opinion I the rather indulged myself, as I found I was therein under the Protection of several very eminent Writers, who had supported the same Argument; but especially those two great Oracles of Political Learning, *Grotius* and *Puffendorf*: And as the whole Reasoning (whereby this Question is so fully determined, and in so small a Compass, which hath otherwise produced so many Volumes) is little more than an Explication of that undeniable and self-evident Position, or Political Maxim, *That the Sovereign Power in every State, may (with a disinterested View to the publick Good) institute any Thing which is not (or which upon the most impartial Examination does not appear to be) contrary to any Divine Law.* But however clear and undeniable this Principle is, Mr. *Bourn* thought the elegant Arrangement, he had made of the STRONG SUPPORTS of Non-conformity, would be sufficient to defeat all its Efficacy, especially by the Continuance (contrary to my Advice and Request) of all the Irony and Sarcasm, wherewith he had embellished his Composition, which he *very wisely* judged absolutely necessary to keep up the Edge and Force of his Reasoning. This was the only Reason of whatever Asperity may appear in my *Reply*, all which is my Aversion, as being rather against, than of any Use or Advantage to the Propagation and Support of Truth; but I apprehended myself under a Necessity of conforming, so far as I have done, to the Mode and Style he had prescribed me.

BUT even this, he or his Friend, (as he acquaints us) to whom he committed the Care of the Impression, thought not yet sufficient, without attempting to throw a Reproach upon the Preface and its Author, by prefixing an Advertisement to his Book in these Words.

LIVERPOOL, Sept. 1755.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

“THE Preface which gave Occasion to this Letter, as well as the Book to which it belongs, were printed sometime ago by the Author himself, and have been privately and separately put into many Hands, though they were never regularly published.”

UPON the coming out of Mr. *Bourn*'s Book, I published the Remarks mentioned P. 6, 7. of this *Reply*, wherein, among other Things, I wrote to this Effect. Pray give me Leave to ask, for what Purpose you have prefaced your Book with an Advertisement, which is a plain downright Falshood? The Book you mention is not printed; there wants the whole third Section, which I am afraid will prove (contrary to my first Intention) nearly as long as the Second. And again: I shall be taken by that Advertisement to have printed some Scandalous Book, I could not face the Publication of, nor even trust the Printing of it to any Hand but my

own; and given out the same in a cautious, private, clandestine Manner, to avoid publick Reproach, or perhaps some severer Animadversion.—— Does not (pray judge impartially) does not the Letter of your prefatory Advertisement plainly imply thus much?——and yet it is every Word false.——I printed the Book (so much as is printed) myself, only because I could not otherwise get it done; there was not a Hand in Town, could manage the Greek and Hebrew Types. The Preface was printed by Mr. S——. The Work was delivered privately out to a few, only because it was imperfect.——What a Difference now there is betwixt this Account and your Advertisement! And yet Mr. B—— they will have them to be both alike.——How much Malignity may from Ignorance, Pride and Prejudice, be shewn about a mere Trifle. The Reader will see the Case plainly. Yet the last mentioned Gentleman persists to represent the Thing in his own Way, which is too low and dirty to be taken Notice of by my Pen. I have begun with him the Method our blessed Saviour commands in Case of Offence, whereto he hath not thought fit to make any Reply or take any Notice of it, so I leave him to his own Conceptions.

THIS Account contains the true Reason of my publishing the Preface in so very uncommon a Manner. And since as others, besides Mr. Bourn, have given themselves an Interest in this Affair, (*how much to their Honour!*) I may be apprehensive of Rejoinders and Surrejoinders, &c. to avoid the Reproach of giving up the Cause, and to weary me into a Silence, in which they may triumph as a Defeat: I hereby declare to all concerned, I will take no Notice of any Thing further upon this Subject, till they shall give a clear, full and decisive Answer to the Preface, whereof I have not the least Apprehension; having such Supports as I mentioned before, and as what they have yet advanced has not the least Part even of an Attempt of an Answer to the principal Arguments.



A
R E P L Y
T O

Mr. BOURN's Free and Candid
CONSIDERATIONS.

WHEN I wrote the Preface to my Book, called the
CHRISTIANITY of the NEW TESTAMENT,
I thought it would be a standing and satisfactory Vindi-
cation of my conforming to the Church of *England*, con-
trary to the Course of my Education, against many Re-
proaches I knew I had suffered on that Account. And as
I had, at the Time of my Conformity, shewed a short
Draught of the same Arguments, to several Persons, with-
out having any material Exception made to them; and
as the Preface had been printed, and some Copies given
out a considerable Time, without any Thing appearing
against it, and having had the concurrent Opinion of some
Gentlemen of Learning in its Favour; I was vain enough
to believe it wou'd not have been answered; and that it
would be considered, either as not being worthy of an
Answer, which is sometimes found to be the best Way,
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(and I verily believe some will wish they had so treated my Preface) or as not very obvious to it. But as I happened accidentally to meet with an agreeable, sprightly, young Gentleman, who, at the first Interview, appeared to me well qualified, by Genius and Erudition, to consider the Merits of an Argument; and finding him to be of the Presbyterian (or however Dissenting) Persuasion; and descended from a Gentleman, who, I knew, had been (I believe deservedly) in his Time, of great Character and Reputation in that Way: I happened, in the Freedom of Conversation, to tell him I had wrote such a Thing, and desir'd him to peruse it, and, if he thought fit, to make his Remarks upon it, which he agreed to do. I own I did not expect he wou'd have printed his Reflections, upon a Question, I thought my Representation of, had been pretty much decisive; of which Opinion I still am, and the more so, for his Answer. But he thought fit to engage his Pen, and to publish his Conceptions, which he says (P. 3.) I may, if I please, call AN ANSWER; upon which Manner of Expression, I made an obvious Reflection, in some brief Remarks I published, immediately upon the coming out of his Book. He sent me his Manuscript to peruse, which I did, and wrote him three Letters upon some Part of it, before I was aware he designed it for the Press; thinking to have gone through the whole in that private Way, and giving him some Hints against Publishing it without some Correction. But although I shewed him some real plain Mistakes, he proceeded in his own Way, and printed his Book.

I DID, as above-said, upon its coming out, and to obviate the Effect, such a *Specious* Work might, and I believed would have, upon some weak and interested Minds, publish some brief Remarks, to shew the very great Insufficiency of the Performance, and that in how agreeable a View soever it might be thought by some, to set the Case, it could not, with the least Propriety be called an *Answer* to my Preface, as not having touched upon, much less discussed and answered the Principal and
fundamental

fundamental Arguments, and upon which the Merits of the Question entirely depend. That is, he had not pretended to shew, Either that the civil Powers might not, with a sincere Aim for the best Administration of the Public Concerns of every State, command any Thing not contrary to the Laws of God; or that the Ecclesiastical Establishment of this Nation, enjoyns any Thing contrary to any such Law.

THIS Observation, as it entirely sets aside the Force of all he hath writ, might justly be esteemed a sufficient Reply; and I should have thought it so, and have given myself no further Trouble upon the Subject; but as I did in my Remarks (I now think, rather too hastily) promise to give him a fuller Reply, to all the Allegations he thought fit to make (not against much that I had writ, but rather) in defence of his own Conceptions, and those of his Party, concerning Church Power and Policy, and the Danger and Inconsistency of allowing the civil Powers any Influence in the Administration of Ecclesiastical Affairs, I now think myself obliged to fulfil that Promise; not so much out of Regard to the Man, who, I believe, would willingly dispense with my Failure of Promise; but for the Sake of others, who might be induced to ascribe such Failure to some Reason, false in itself, and Prejudicial to the Cause I have, in my own Vindication, voluntarily listed myself as an Advocate for. Upon a nearer and more attentive Consideration of Mr. Bourn's Work, I find greater Reason to be sorry that I did lay myself under that Engagement. Not from any Difficulty I foresee in the Performance, more than merely the Trouble of writing; but as the Style the Book is writ in, will lay me under an unavoidable Necessity of treating it's Author with more Sharpness and Severity, than I would willingly use to any Person. I have elsewhere hinted, more than once, that all Advocates for truth (as all Disputants are or ought to be) should always endeavour to preserve *an Unity of Spirit in the Bond of Peace*; and shew they

are not pursuing any other End, or acting upon any other Motive, than the Establishment thereof, in Theory and Practice. But in this Gentleman's Performance, I cannot avoid seeing so much of the *Cynick Snarle*, (except you'll rather call it *Apish Irrifion*;) so little Regard to the true Merits of the Question, treated or professed to be treated on; so little Observance of the Rights of natural Order and Decency, as well as the Propriety of Controversy; that I wish I could well be excused from entering the Lists, where I must be to engage with, and suit my Defence to such untoward Weapons.

ONE Thing I hope my Antagonist and his Friends will acknowledge. That as I wrote to him, to request he would take some of the *Gall and Wormwood* out of the *Medicine* he had compounded for me, that I might not be under a Necessity of putting such a Quantity of *Vinegar* in my Ink, by Way of Counterpoison, they will lay the Blame of all such irregularity of Stile, where it ought justly to lye. And particularly as he promised, in answer to my Request, to do what I proposed, as far, he said, as he safely might, to preserve the Force of his Reasoning, which he hath not done at all.— After these Things premised, I begin my REPLY to his *Free and Candid Considerations*; how properly so called, we shall have Opportunity of seeing further on.

HE says, P. 3. *The Preface required an Answer.* Why? Was it because it had advanced any Thing contrary to General Truth, the Laws of Humanity, the Peace of Church or State, Purity of Christian Doctrine, Holiness of Life. or the general Good of Societies or Individuals? No— But— *As it advances many Things, and those of a momentous Nature, contrary to the Sentiments, which, (he says) I and many others have adopted.* This Motive, as here expressed, is liable to some Animadversion, but so plain as not to need a very particular Treatment.

Selfish Views are too often the prevalent Motives of Action,

Action, but not generally so openly avow'd. I think we should, especially in all controverted Questions, endeavour to set ~~Self~~ as much as possible aside, ~~change Persons~~, and represent to our own Minds, in the fairest Light, the Reasons our Antagonists appear to have gone upon.

THIS would, I believe, oft supersede all further Dispute; and determine or change many a Scheme. As the Famous *Bowyer* confesses it did his; who, from a disinterested Attention to the History of the Christian Church, from its first Foundation, instead of establishing the essential Doctrines of Popery, as he intended, and doubted not he should have effectually done, found himself obliged (from the irresistible Evidence of Truth) to turn his Pen to the Defence of the Protestant Religion, and of the Reformation of the Church from the Errors of Popery.

P. 4. and 5. My Respondent seems to value himself upon his happy Freedom from all Prejudice of Mind, he might otherwise have been unhappily under, by his having never read the Writings of *Arius* or *Socinus*, *Luther* or *Calvin*.—— I envy him not this Immunity. But might he not have been as well qualified for the Province he hath voluntarily undertaken, had he been a little more acquainted with the Sentiments and Writings of those Men, and not depended wholly on the Force of his own natural Genius, *how great soever?*

But why does he say of my Preface, p. 5. *It may be of Service, as you say, particularly to the Jews*: Did I any where say so? This is, perhaps, the first Instance of that contemptuous Sneer he hath shewn so much of. I trust there is not in all my Work so much as this one Instance, to give me a Title to the Place so kindly assigned me, *in the Seat of the Scornful*, p. 80.

And yet were the *Jews* free from that Cloud of Prejudice, that Vail, which seems to be judicially over their Minds to this Day, *in the reading of the Law and the Prophets*;

phets; could they allow themselves to attend to free Reasoning, upon their own Scriptures, they might perhaps receive some Benefit from some such Performance, as I aimed mine to be, and obtain a better Idea of the Character of the MESSIAH, and his Errand into this World, than, not only they, but many Professors of Christianity seem yet to have.

WHETHER the Number of those who reject the Doctrines of *Redemption*, *Propitiation*, &c. be more or fewer, I have not undertaken to shew, but have in the General, with others, my Superiors, complained of the Prevalence of the Socinian *Heresy*, and if there be any Reason for that Complaint, it will justify the Intention of my Undertaking: Whether the Gentleman pointed at be one of that Character, I don't affirm; but I think the Reasons I have described were more than sufficient to give Credit to the Account given me, and to ground my Persuasion upon.—Why should People be so industrious to shift of, and avert, in Words, a Charge, their Actions plainly avow? Why do they appear to halt between two Opinions? *If Jehovah be God, follow him; but if Baal, follow him.* If Jesus Christ be only a Prophet sent to teach the Laws of refined Morality (the *True Religion of Nature*, as the Gentleman call'd it) let them avow the Doctrine openly and freely. **Truth needs no Covering.** If he came to be a King and a Priest, as well as a Prophet, as the Scriptures fully teach; if he came *to give his Life a Ransom for many*, Matth. xx. 28. λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν; *to give himself a Ransom for All*, 1 Tim. ii. 6. ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων; *to purchase to himself a Church with his own Blood*, Acts xx. 28. ὡς περιποιήσατο (ὁ θεὸς) διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος; *if we be reconciled to God by the Death of his Son; having by him received the Atonement.* Rom. v. 10, 11. δι' ἧς νῦν τὴν καταλλαγὴν ἐλάβομεν; *If he have been made sin* (or rather a Sin-Offering) *for us, who knew no Sin*, 2 Cor. v. 21. ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν, (this Word is mostly, if not always, used in the Greek Translation,

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free and candid CONSIDERATIONS. II

for the Hebrew חַטָּאת Sin-Offering) that we might be made the Righteousness of God in him; in short, if He be a Propitiation for our Sins, (ἱλασμός ἐστὶ περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, 1 John. ii. 2. and 4. 10.) let them, in the Name of God, rejoice in this Salvation, let them proclaim this loving Kindness of the Lord in the Assemblies of the Saints; and make known the Glories of redeeming Grace; ascribing with the Angelic Choir, Glory to God in the Highest, for that Peace on Earth and that good Will to men, which the Redeemer came to bring the glad Tidings of. Let them in the Church on Earth speak and preach the Praises of redeeming Love, in Concert with the glorified Saints in Heaven, who have washed their Robes, and made them white in the Blood of the Lamb, Rev. vii. 14. who are elsewhere described as falling down before the Lamb, Rev. v. 9. singing a new Song and saying, *Thou art worthy to take the Book* (the Book of the Counsels and Decrees of the most High, Hamm. Pol. cæt.) *and to loose the Seals thereof; for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy Blood, out of every Tribe, and Tongue, and People, and Nation;* and in the 11 Ver. the heavenly Angels are described as joining in the same seraphic Song of Praise and Halleluiahs, *even Myriads of Myriads, and Thousands of Thousands,* saying; *Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive Power and Riches, and Wisdom and Strength, and Honour and Glory, and Blessing, &c.* If I say these Doctrines, as plainly laid down in very many Places of the New Testament, besides those above recited, be to be understood as the Mind and Will of God made known to the Sons of Men; and if these prophetic Descriptions of Songs of Praise, by the heavenly Host, to the Almighty Father, and to the Lamb slain from the Foundation of the World, be given by the Inspiration of the most High, to enlarge our Conceptions of the Mercy of God, in the **Sacrifice and Death of Jesus Christ**; let not the Ministers of the Gospel be slack, upon every Occasion, to declare their joyful Concurrence in a grateful Acknowledgement of so great a Blessing.

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IN p. 6. there is something of a Mistake (which I fully explained, in a Letter to him upon my reading his Manuscript) in these Words: *Omission I suppose you mean*: How complacent he is in obstinately supposing me, inadvertently or designedly, guilty of such a monstrous Blunder, as to confound two Ideas so very different, not to say contrary and inconsistent: But I think this Imputation, Gross as it is, is not so contrary to all Decency and Politeness, as the ~~Apish~~ *Sneer* we shall find so much of. See p. 6. of the Preface. A small Attention would have shewn my Critic Respondent, that the DECLARATION there meant was my own Declaration just preceding: If any Christian Minister, &c. and this makes the Sense and Connection easy. But it is very obvious to note, throughout this ~~learned~~ and ~~elaborate~~ Performance, a pretty uniform Endeavour to represent Things, as *absurd, ridiculous, inconsistent, inaccurate, improper, &c.* doubtless from a strong and ~~well grounded~~ Assurance, that these Imputations would depreciate the Argument, and meet with the ready Concurrence of those he wrote for, in Applause of his ~~just and~~ *laudable* Endeavours. A great many People, not much celebrated for profound Reasoning, are very capable of Irrision. And yet I think he pays his Readers but a poor Complement, in supposing them capable of readily believing a Writer, of only common Sense, could so easily make so plain and so gross a Mistake. But this is too common an Artifice of incompetent Advocates, to supply the Defects of their Logic, by Reproach and Inveective, and sacrifice Truth to the false Embellishment of their own Character. Had the Gentleman, who, I believe, added the Appendix, *in Commiseration to the Author*, been duly consulted, (if I be right in my Guess of the Person) he would have dissuaded the publishing this Passage.

THE Author of *Free and Candid Considerations*, may seem, by the Letter of his Text, to resent my Treatment of the *Minister* with too much Respect, p. 6. But don't be concerned,

concerned, he means nothing less. This whole Paragraph is an Instance of that *Cynic Snarl* I have mentioned above. I esteem the Gentleman pointed at, as a Person of masterly Sense and Learning, and of unrepachable moral Conduct; I wish the Character were more universal, especially in People of his Denomination of every Order. But let not the **candid Gentleman** affect giving himself too great a Concern. I thought not, nor do I yet think the Gentleman or his Advocate (**to whom I don't apprehend he'll deem himself under any mighty Obligation**) of Consequence enough (to borrow one Flower of his Rhetoric) to have a Title to so much of my Labour or Concern. But I am not ashamed to own: I was under a very great Concern to see Truth *so wounded in the House of her Friends*: To see *the Son of God trodden under Foot, and the Blood of the Covenant wherewith we are sanctified* (have the Privilege of being admitted into the Character of God's peculiar People, *Deut. xiv. 2.*) *treated as an unholy Thing*; to see that Purchase, which the Redeemer made out of *every Kindred and Tongue, and People and Nation, by his Blood, unto God and his Father*, as cited above, not thought worthy of the least mention in the Catalogue of Blessings and Immunities, published to Mankind, and enumerated as accruing by the Gospel of Christ; and that Redemption, which is made the just Object of the Halleluiahs of the triumphant Saints in Heaven, not thought worthy of any Notice in an Assembly of **the Saints** on Earth: This, I acknowledge, gave me a Concern, which determined me to contribute my Mite (*si quid est in me ingenii, quod sentio quam sit exiguum*) to rescue that evangelical Doctrine of Redemption, and Expiation, from the Contempt I apprehended it to be treated with. This was the Motive, my only Motive of engaging in that laborious Undertaking.

P. 6. Mr. *Bourn* reproaches my Presumption, for venturing to remark upon a Sermon, &c. from no better an Idea, than what I could retain in my Memory, by a bare
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Hearing of it: To which I answer; that the very short Memorial I have ventured, not without some acknowledged Diffidence, to give of that Performance, I think may be better reconciled to Truth and good Sense, than the very out-of-the-way Question he asks on that Occasion.

I SAID I would not pretend to give a perfect and compleat Account of the Sermon, &c. but in what I said *I would keep strictly to Truth*. Upon which he asks, "How" is it possible to keep strictly to Truth, in the Repetition "of a thing, unless the Account be perfect?" A plain Attempt to show more of the Absurd! In this Question, I think, my dear Doctor has rather a little mistaken, over-shot and exposed himself. — This is one of those Questions which plainly imply a Negation, and yet I shall be able, I hope, to give it a clear Solution in the Affirmative. — Some Questions are better answered by Examples than verbal Definitions. E. G. If I should write from L. Clarendon's, &c. Account of *Oliver Cromwell*, that he was a very great Statesman and Politician, and a very prudent and valiant General; I think I might be allowed, in that Account, *to keep strictly to Truth*, and yet my Account of the Man would be far from perfect. Take another Instance. A very agreeable young Gentleman gave me an unexpected Call some Time ago; of whom, from a short Conversation I was, and am persuaded I might, *very consistently with strict Truth*, say, that he is a Person of fine Sense and Erudition (*tho' in this I have had the Mortification of being since contradicted*;) but however, some Things which have since occurred, convince me that this Account (however strictly agreeable to Truth) is very imperfect. You see, Sir, what Trouble you have put me to, or rather, I may say, I have put myself to, in setting *you* to Rights in many Trifles, that have not the least Pertinence to the Question. But if one will be Imprudent enough to undertake to follow an *ignis fatuus*, there's no balking the Pursuit.

P. 7. How arch the Gentleman is upon my Commendation

dation of the Prayer! What would he have said, had I discommended it? He asks, what then was the Fault?—He has himself mentioned the Fault. And I, like an obstinate Fool, still insist on it, after his kind Admonition, that it was a great and unpardonable Fault in that elegant Performance, in the Circumstances before noted; that there was nothing, not a Word, relating to that grand Transaction and Event, the Redemption of the World by Jesus Christ; nothing relating to the Doctrine and Scheme of Christianity, except the very close of the Prayer: *Through Jesus Christ, &c.* abating which, the whole might have been composed and pronounced by any learned and devout Jew, Pagan or Mahometan, as mentioned in the Preface. Now, I refer it to the Consideration of the CHRISTIAN READER, whether there are not a great many illustrious Particulars of Blessings received, to be acknowledged, and Mercies to be prayed for, arising from the Doctrines of Christianity, particularly as a Scheme of Redemption and Propitiation, which no Jew, Turk or Pagan, upon the Principles of his own Religion, nor any Infidel whatever, upon the Principles of Natural Religion, could conceive or express. This, Sir, was the Fault; and the Excuse pretended for it a little further on, is vastly unequal.

BUT I desire here to observe one very remarkable Thing (and which no Christian who reads with Attention, can omit observing;) with what a contemptuous Sneer he answers his own Question (*what was the Fault?*) in these Words; *Why, that grand One of omitting your favourite Doctrine*; treating the Heavenly Doctrines of Redemption and Salvation, published to the World by Jesus Christ, as a singular, absurd, whimsical Opinion, of a very obscure, despicable, silly, out-of-the-way Fellow, not worth Notice or Regard. *Your favourite Opinion!*——Sir, it is my favourite Opinion. And I say with the great Apostle; *God forbid that I should glory, save in the Cross of Christ.* I do glory, and I hope I shall, to all Eternity, glory and triumph, with all the *Ransomed of the Lord, who shall return and come to Zion, with Songs and everlasting Joy upon their*
C 2 *Heads,*

Heads, in the triumphant Recital of the glorious Purchase of the Redeemer's Blood.—Yes, Sir, **this is my favourite Doctrine**, and in Comparison of this glorious Addition to your *favourite Doctrine* of the *True Religion of Nature*, (which, by the Way, without the coming of Christ and the publishing of **his Gospel**, you never had had: As his Lordship of *London* hath most elegantly shewn.) In Comparison, I say, of this, I shall always count all my own Righteousness, the highest Improvement of the Law and RELIGION of NATURE, (which yet is essentially necessary to the Christian Character) to be of no Manner of Value or Account, for the *Excellency of the Knowledge of Jesus Christ our Lord; for whom I would suffer the Loss of all Things, and count them but Dung, that I may win Christ, and be found in him; not having my own Righteousness, which is of the Law, (the utmost Perfection of the Religion of Nature) but that which is through the Faith of Christ, the Righteousness which is of God by Faith, &c.* Phil. iii. 8, 9.

As to Mr. Bourn's Question in the same Page: *Must a Minister be condemned in the Gross for missing in a Prayer or Sermon the Name of Christ, or a single Doctrine of Christianity? &c.*—Sir, give me leave to ask freely; Don't you by this Question plainly make an Appearance of denying or evading the Charge which I am appearing to make upon Mr. —, of not asserting, maintaining, believing, preaching the Doctrines of Atonement, Redemption, &c. essentially belonging to the Gospel of Christ? Can you with an upright Heart do that? Will he avow your Defence? Will you or He openly declare your Avowance and Belief of the Redemption of the World, and the Propitiation or Atonement of the Sins of Mankind, by the Sacrifice and Death of Christ; as those Words are, according to the plain and literal Sense, usually understood? If so, I believe our Controversy is at an End. But, I think, neither the one nor the other will do that. But you'll say: What Right have I to propose those Interrogatories?—None at all. Let us go forward.—To the Question above, I answer then: There is a good Deal of Difference between a Sermon and a Prayer.

Prayer. Of the former I shall here say nothing: But I freely own, I believe, the Minister who prays extempore, obnoxious to a very great and just Censure, who, in the Circumstances as described, p. 13. did not as there related, in the least adapt his Prayer to so grand an Occasion. This Omission was, I think, as absurd, and more absurd (pray lend me this pretty Word for once) than if, on a Day consecrated and appropriated for the solemn religious Commemoration of some signal national Deliverance, there should not be a Word, in all the religious Office for the Day mentioning, or any how relative to that providential Favour. Or, as if the *Jews*, in their religious Festivities of the Passover, should not make the least mention of the Afflictions of *Egypt*, and their Deliverance from them. And I am not ashamed to own, that the other Omissions he mentions, of praying for the King, and the Magistrates, &c. would be liable to some Exception; as it would be very odd, in the public Offices of Religion, not to pray or return Thanks for the Peace and Prosperity of the Community, &c. But these Considerations bear no Proportion to that of the Redemption of the World, by our Lord Jesus Christ; “**who suffered Death upon the Cross for our Redemption, and made there, by his one Oblation once offered, a full perfect and sufficient Sacrifice, Oblation and Satisfaction for the Sins of the whole World.**” *Comm. Serv.*

I own it appeared something strange to me, that that Gentleman, or any other Minister of the same Faith or Persuasion, should seem to apprehend his whole Church, so entirely brought over to his own Opinion; as that he should not think it necessary, in point of Prudence, Gratitude, or good Manners, to suit some Part of his public Office (though with some little of the *Equivoque*) to the Sentiments of such Dissenters.

P. 8. WE are got at last, with a good Deal of Difficulty, to the Sermon, tho’ not yet quite to the Subject we should have begun with, and to which all the rest is very little

little appurtenant; and for that Reason, as well as others, not very hard to be guessed, I have passed some Things without any particular Notice.

IN p. 9. I find myself embarrassed with another of Mr. Bourn's witty Questions or Challenges.—I wish it might have consisted *with the Force of his Reasoning*, to have left out these foreign Digressions, which I own, I think, it might.—Speaking of Sin and the Guilt of Sin, he says—separate them if you can, — *I think I can.* If Sin be considered merely as an Act of natural Depravity, and without all Regard to Law or Government, then upon the taking away of Sin, or of the natural Depravity, by Superinduction of the prevalent Habits of Virtue or inherent Sanctification, the Punishment also ceases, which I suppose upon this Scheme of Theology, is to be considered not as a judicial, but only as the natural unhappy Consequence of Immorality; and thus, I think, the Terms Sin and Punishment are used in a less proper and rather a figurative Sense. But,

If Sin be considered properly, as the Transgression of a Law imposed upon moral Agents, by a rightful Sovereign, whereby Punishment becomes the judicial Consequence of Transgression; as the Scripture plainly describes the Reason of the Almighty's Dealing with Mankind. Then, supposing moral Depravity and the Defection of the original Habit of Holiness, naturally or judicially consequent upon Sin; the Sinner becomes thereby unqualified to render a compleat Obedience to the original Law, and so liable to the Punishment of Sin; and were not that the Case; as subsequent Obedience does not, by any primitive Right or Necessity of Nature, or universal Reason of Government, take away the Guilt of a former Transgression, and much less when the moral Faculties are depraved; in this Case also the Sinner is liable to the Guilt and Punishment of his Original, and of every subsequent Act of Disobedience; which Guilt can only be removed by the Act of the Sovereign, relaxing or dispensing with the Punishment threatened;

threatned; and that either in the Way of mere sovereign Grace, or in Consideration of something done or suffered by, or for the Offender, by Way of Reparation, Satisfaction, Propitiation, or Atonement, for the Guilt and Demerit of the Transgression. And thus the Punishment is considered not as a physical, but as a judicial Consequence of Sin; and altho', whom he justifies, them he also sanctifies; yet the Pardon of the Guilt, and the Removal of the Depravity, are two different Acts, subsequent the latter to the former, not by natural Necessity, but by the sovereign Appointment of the most High, in the Dispensation of the Grace of the Gospel; the former being in the New Testament represented under the Ideas of *Redemption, Pardon, Atonement, Justification, &c.* the latter of *Sanctification*, by the Renewal of the Divine Image, lost by the original Transgression, &c.

AND this Description, which separates the Consideration of Sin and Punishment, is suitable to the Ideas of Atonement by Sacrifice, given and instituted by the Almighty, under the Law; and to the same Ideas, from original and universal Tradition, in the Pagan Theology; and equally suitable to the Method of Restoration of Mankind to the Favour of God, by the Death and Sufferings of Christ, as the great Sacrifice of Atonement, under the Gospel, plainly described in the New Testament; as I have endeavour'd to explain and confirm in my Book.

P. 10. l. 7. Still more witty and important Interrogatories or Remonstrances,——*You tell us not one Truth that was not comprehended under them.* — Of great Importance this to our Question! He complains of the Length of the Preface, and yet blames it for not being needlessly much longer! very consistently!—— But yet some Things are expressed, which are essential to the Subject, and not comprehended in his Dissertation, which I would not here repeat.

P. 11. l. 4. *Why should this (he says) be looked upon to be the*

the most important Part of the Sermon? Ans. It appeared so to me, which is all I said, and need not tell why, it is nothing to the Question.

HIS Analysis of the Sermon I don't blame. I take Notice, that that Part of this critical Performance don't seem to imply or complain of any Mistake or perverse Representation, in my summary Account of the Sermon; and so the Complement he made me, in p. 6. might have been spared, which would have saved the Trouble of my answering his very pertinent and critical Question.

BUT suppose the Sermon, as excellent in other Respects as you please. I think I may still insist on it as a very great Defect in a Sermon composed and uttered with great Oratory, purposely to explain and describe the Freedom and Blessings granted to Mankind by the Gospel of Christ, not to have mentioned *this* of being delivered from the Guilt and Punishment of Sin by the Death of Christ, so oft and so plainly taught in the New Testament, except you can shew, that that Idea does not belong to the Scripture-Scheme of Christianity; as some Heretics have asserted, or that it is a Part of natural Religion. I wish the Gentleman would here apply his elegant Allegory of *the Cap sitting and putting it on*, mentioned elsewhere.

THE Imaginations of young *Folk* are apt to run wild. *The Author imagines I was then a late Convert, &c.* This has about as much Pertinence to the Question, as other Things of equal Elegance already noted. I might imitate his polite Allegory just mentioned, and say, *well guessed of an Old* —. I have a good Deal of Reason to believe, I then had been as long in the Church, as he had been, or perhaps as long as he has yet been in the World. And for that Reason, had a Right, merely on Account of natural Decency, to Treatment of some little Gravity, and not in such a puerile, ludicrous, and Merry-Andrew Manner.—At the Bottom of the same Page is a Piece of Wit as elegant

elegant as the former, about a *magnifying Glass*, and a *speaking Trumpet*.—I had no need of the former, nor the Preacher of the latter, nor can I think the last mentioned Machine will be of any great Use to the Author, so long as the free and candid *Considerations* shall be read, nor is either of the least Use to our Enquiry. But none of these witty Impertinencies could be spared; they were all necessary, essentially necessary to keep up the Force of his Reasoning; otherwise he would *as he promised*, have taken them out. Miserable reasoning, which needs such Supports!

HE says, I have omitted the Word *Authoritatively*.—I thank his kind Admonition: But I left out the Word purposely. I was foolish enough to think that RIGHT implied AUTHORITY; and that for Example, whoever hath a *Right* to prescribe, hath Authority to do so; *separate them if you can*.

I THINK we are, with much Labour at last got over these troublesome preludious Refinements, which have, as above said, no Manner of Relation to the Question debated. He seems now, in the 12th Page, willing to enter upon the Subject of our proposed Enquiry, in which cordially join with him.

BUT as in the Prosecution of this Part of my Reply, I shall be obliged to have frequent Relation to the Authority and Obligation of the Laws of the State, I think it convenient, for easier Reference, to digest what is proper to be remarked upon that Subject, into the following Propositions.

1. No Society of Men can subsist, or answer the Ends of its original Constitution, without some Rules or Laws established, for the Regulation of the Conduct of its Constituents, relating to the Affairs of the Society. This has been so universally allowed in Speculation and Practice, that it may pass as an Axiom. I think it has hitherto escaped the Correction of my learned Respondent.

2. ALL Mankind, tho', as hath been said, with respect to

the Almighty's Government, as sovereign of the Universe, they may be considered as one grand Society, Civil or Sacred, or both; Yet, with respect to Human Government, they never, since the general Dispersion, were, nor is it likely ever will be, considered as one Society, under the Administration of one Body of human Laws. And therefore, (p. 1.) every separate sovereign Society must have a peculiar Set of Laws, for its own Administration.

I HAVE no Occasion here to mention the *Jus Gentium*, whereby Controversies relating to Right betwixt Nation and Nation in general are determined, rather by a tacit Consent, than under the Influence of any humane sovereign Authority.

3. THE Laws of all human Societies must be subordinate to, and consistent with the Laws of God, as Sovereign of the Universe, as the same are known by the Evidence of natural Reason, or by Revelation: As the Laws of every subordinate Society must be consistent with the Laws of the sovereign Society, whereof it is a Part. This is so plain, that it may well pass for a Maxim or Fundamental Axiom of humane Government and Policy. And hence it is certain,

4. THAT no human Power, Personal or Collective, hath or can have a Right to institute or enact any thing inconsistent with the natural or revealed Laws of the Almighty; that is, as *Grotius* hath laid it down; no human Power hath a Right either *Dei jussa vetare*, or *Deo vetita jubere*; either to forbid what God hath commanded; or to command what God hath forbidden.

5. ALL humane Government is, or ought to be, originally instituted and perpetually supported, in Order to the best Establishment and Preservation of the public Welfare of the Society; and consequently, the sovereign Power hath a Right to make such Laws for the Regulation of ALL SOCIAL AFFAIRS, as, upon proper Deliberation, shall appear best conducive to the public Good, always consistently with all known Laws of God, natural and revealed.

6. GOD

6. GOD cannot be the Author of Inconsistency, Contradiction or Confusion. These are plainly Imperfections contrary to eternal Reason, that is inconsistent with the Agency of infinite Power, Wisdom and Goodness.

7. THE most High hath not thought fit to institute particular Laws, or Systems of Laws, to answer the various emergent Conveniencies, Exigencies and Advantages of human social Affairs.

8. THEREFORE, as the Almighty hath made sociality essential to human nature, (probably in its first Institution, but most certainly since the Fall, and in the Condition it now is) it is absolutely necessary, (p. 1.) that social Laws be formed in every Society, by the Exercise of human Reason: And this must be done, either by the Appointment and Direction of one Man, who by natural or acquired Superiority of Wisdom and Power, hath a right of Legislation in himself; or by the Concurrence, Consultation and Consent of the whole Society; or by Persons of superior Wisdom and Influence, selected and deputed by Consent of the Majority of the Society. And these three different Methods of Legislation have given Names to three different Modes of Government, called in our Language, by Words derived from the *Greek* Tongue, *Monarchy*, *Democracy* and *Aristocracy*, which are liable to be multiplied by Division or Composition.

9. UNDER a Monarchy the whole Society is to be determined in all things, not fixed by the Laws of God, by the absolute Will and Appointment of one Man, vested with sovereign Power; and in the other Forms they are to be determined by the Consent of the Majority of those who are deputed for Legislation, unless otherwise originally established.

10. FROM the preceding Propositions, it is evidently necessary, that all Affairs relating to the Society and not determined by divine Authority, be under the sovereign Direction of the supreme Power in every State. For if Affairs of one Kind (for instance *secular*) be to be settled

by one Body of Men, and those of another Kind (suppose religious) by another, these two different Powers must either be subordinate, the one to the other, (in which Case the Supreme Will have a Controll upon the Actions of the other, and therefore they will be in effect but one Sovereignty;) or they must be co-ordinate, and each absolute and independent, in which Case there will be unavoidable Occasions, in which the Legislations and Executions or Coertions, will be interfering, contradictory and inconsistent; contrary to the Laws of the Almighty, and to eternal Reason. See *Prop. 6.* And hence,

11. As the Regulation and Administration of Affairs relating to Religion and the public Worship of God, hath a Tendency to promote or obstruct the Good of Societies, it becomes necessary, that these shall be under the Regulation of the supreme Power; so far only as not determined by divine Institution.

THIS is that upon which our Dispute principally depends, and its Truth is undeniably established by the 1, 2, 5, 6, and 10. Propositions, especially the last; for if the Externals and Circumstantials of public divine Worship and Religion, are to be sovereignly administered by Men, not under the Coertion of the civil Sovereign, they might order things in contradiction to the Laws, and inconsistent with the Peace and good Order of the Society.

12. FROM divine Appointment and Institution of general Subjection to the Powers that be, which are ordained of God, Rom. xiii. 1. and to Principalities and Powers or Magistrates, Titus iii. 1. It follows, that the Laws of the State have universally an Obligation in conscience upon every Subject, so far as they are not (or after the most sincere, diligent and impartial Enquiry) appear not to be contrary to, or inconsistent with the Laws of God. (p. 11.)

Now to proceed with the *free and candid Considerations.*

IN p. 13. My Respondent after reciting from my Preface,

face, that *no Power on Earth, since the ceasing of the immediate supernatural infallible Guidance of the Holy Spirit, &c. hath a Right to prescribe new Articles of Faith, &c.* subjoins as a Corollary, that *this tends to prove the Truth of the Proposition, instead of its Falsity.* I suppose he means (tho' I am not quite sure of his *Sense*) that this tends to prove, that no Power on Earth hath a Right to prescribe in Matters of Religion, *universally.* But *this is neither FREE nor CANDID.* Why should this learned Respondent, by Advantage of superior Genius and Erudition, lay snares to *beguile unstable Souls*; giving people of weak Judgments and strong Affections, pernicious prejudices? He knows very well that Matters of external Administration and Polity are quite different things from Articles of Faith, Sacraments and Rules of general moral Conduct, and they are in the Preface very distinctly treated on. The latter being declared to be Essential and Perpetual, the other Circumstantial, accidental and variable. This is not reasoning or answering, but *evading, quibbling, confounding, darkning, Counsel by Words without Knowledge,* Job xxxviii. 2. *Like the perverse Disputings of Men of corrupt Minds, and destitute of the Truth.* The Tendency whereof is not to establish Truth, and promote Knowledge, but to divert the Attention, and prejudice the Judgment of People, perhaps otherwise not the most capable of, nor the best disposed to an unprejudiced Consideration of the true Merits of the Question. This is with Demetrius and the Craftsmen, from Views of Interest and Prejudice, to aim at inflaming the Multitude; *Acts* xix. 27, 28. and with the Jews at Iconium, *Acts* xv. 2. *To stir up the People, and make their Minds evil-affected against those things, which, to the Attentive and Unprejudiced are clear and undisputable.*

L. 15. HE says, *We should see into the New Testament for that, and not further on.* One might have expected when he had read *further on*, and found the Things demonstrably proved, particularly in the 21st and following Pages, he would

would either have objected against the Evidence, or have erased this Caution, and thrown this Block out of the Way.

L. 21. *The Almighty alone administers the Affairs of the whole World, and of the (Universal) Church.* Here to get a (very poor) Pretence of alledging an Inconsistency, he hath purposely, unfairly omitted the Word *universal*. Let the Proposition stand as I stated it, and it is incontestably true, and not the least Pretence of Reason for his perverse Assertion, of my taking the Administration of Church Affairs out of the Hands of Men. But what is said of one thing he perverts to another, like Children, crossing Questions, and no wonder such a Practice should produce Inconsistencies too Gross to merit a serious Attention or Resolution; *are these candid or free Considerations? Vid. Prop. 2.*

L. 26. Of this 13 Page. He says, *I should be glad to know the determinate Meaning of this Form of external Government, &c.* To this Question I answered in one of my Letters to this Effect: That as the allwise Sovereign of the World, *and of the Church*, hath not thought fit to institute any one Form of Polity, for perpetual Use in one more than the other, and particularly not in the Church, (*Prop. 7.*) whether the same be considered as national, provincial, diocesan, parochial, or (congregational) or of any or all these Forms, in Composition or Subordination. (*See Prop. 1, 2. 10. 11.*) — The external Form of ecclesiastical Polity, may be different, as to the sovereign Power, upon proper Consideration and Advise, shall appear necessary or most conducive to answer the great Ends of the established Religion, (*in these Nations, Christian-Protestant.*) And whatsoever this form shall eventually be, whether under the Sovereign as Head of the Church, by Metropolitans or Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Priests or Deacons, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, &c. or else by Pastors, Assistants, ruling Elders, Acoluths, Deaconesses, &c. or by Synods, Convocations
or

or Counsels, national, provincial, stated, periodical or occasional, or by Persons of whatsoever Denomination or Distinction of Power, Character or Authority, as shall, by the sovereign Power be appointed as above; it shall be obligatory upon every Subject of the State, if there be no manifest or *unavoidably-apparent inconsistency with the known Laws of God*. And every Subject who shall voluntarily *dissent from*, or refuse or deny his Compliance with such Regulation, (except as before excepted) *resisteth the Ordinance of God* (Prop. 10. 12.) *And they that resist shall receive to themselves* (*κρίμα*, Judgment, Censure) *Damnation*. They are the Words of the Apostle by the Inspiration of the most High, *Rom. xiii. 1.* get quit of them, or distinguish them away, as well as you can, or as you shall think proper. I have in my Preface, and elsewhere in this Reply, taken notice of prudential Indulgences, in humane, Christian, compassionate Consideration, for weak and tender Minds, which being established by Law, become a Part of the Constitution; and give Privilege and Dispensation from the letter of the Injunction, strictly only to Persons qualified according to legal Description; but may, in Times of general Tranquility be, by connivance, extended further, as the public Safety, Convenience, Benefit and Utility, may seem to require or bear. So that the Execution of penal Clauses, in case of Offence, may very prudently be suspended, as hath long been Practised in our happy Constitution, to the great Advantage of the Public; and as in many Cases of secular Nature, legal Penalties are very often long indulged to the greatest Part of the Society, from Views of Convenience, Compassion or *Interest*.

P. 14. WHAT I have in p. 13. of my Preface mentioned: *That the Church had existed in the Beginning or first Ages of Christianity, without any Dependence on, or Connection with the civil Powers*. He unfairly endeavours to represent as a Concession, subversive of my Argument, without taking

taking Notice of the Reconcilement I have made of that Concession with, and even Confirmation of the same. For I have in the same Page observed, that the State of the Christian Church, before its peaceable Establishment, under the Empire of *Constantine* the Great, is a pregnant Instance of the Inconsistency of two independent Sovereignties in the same State; by shewing, that when moderate, good-natured Princes governed the Empire, the Indulgence and Protection of the Church, was one Part of their civil Constitution; and so the two different Powers were in Subordination and Dependence one to and upon the other; but under Princes of different Character, who were violent Enemies to Christianity; the Church was under such Distress as put it in continual Danger of being totally extinct, which would in all Probability have been the Case, had not *the eternal God been her Refuge, and underneath the everlasting Arms*, Deut. xxiii. 27. Had not the most High, for the greater Evidence and Glory of Christianity, exalted his Almighty Arm, in defence of his own Cause, made the Faith and Patience of the Saints, triumphant over all the Powers of Darkeness, and so caused the Blood of the Martyrs to be the Seed of the Church. I appeal to every disinterested Reader, upon a fair Consideration, Whether my Antagonist does not, in this State of the Case, rather choose to cavil than answer, and whether this be not a plain Confession, his Part of the Question is not to be supported by Truth and fair Argument, and so is a strong Confirmation of mine.

P. 15. HE says, *Let us examine your Quotations*, and he begins with a Line out of *Homer*. I desire to note; such Quotations are seldom made by Way of Argument in Confirmation, but rather, as I used that Line, by Way of Analogy or Illustration; as I since find the same Line is used by *Grotius*, in the same Sense, which I had not noted before. And this proves I need not be ashamed for having used it, and so far it serves my Purpose well enough. But my Antagonist, by remarking
briefly

advanced against the Co-ordination of independent Sovereignities, which is certainly inconsistent with the best Order of public Affairs. I am not to doubt but that Mr. *Bourn* aimed to do me Honour by remarking that *I had not thought fit to translate that Line*; as this Remark is of no Manner of Use otherwise. The very learned *Selden*'s comparing the supposed Co-ordination of two independent Sovereignities in one State, to the Supposition of two Suns in the Firmament; or two Souls in one Body, is certainly full to the Purpose, though my Antagonist cannot see it, and the Comparison is far from being a Reproach to that great Man, but I cannot say so of every Body. If one were to compare the same Thing to two Moons, supposed to revolve in different Orbits and Periods round the Earth, the Disorder they would necessarily make, in the circumfluent Waters, would not be an improper Similitude to represent the Confusion, such a clashing of sovereign Powers would be sure to make in human Communities and Bodies Politick.—And I know not but that State of Anarchy, which he prefers to either, P. 15, 16. tho' impossible to consist with publick Peace and Order, might be of less mischievous Tendency than the other; and it surely must be a very bad State, that can be worse than Anarchy, where every Man assumes to *do what is right in his own Eyes*.

BUT after all, Mr. *Bourn* is so good as at last to suppose the Co-Existence of two sovereign Powers in the same State may be inconsistent with public Good.—Am I not to acknowledge it as a great and favourable Condescension in him to suppose what, it is well known, the most eminent political Writers lay down as a self-evident Principle and fundamental Maxim.

WHAT an ungrateful Task has he undertaken? to advocate a Cause so repugnant to common Sense? The Schools have a known Axiom by which one might justly be vindicated, in refusing to take Part in such Quarrels, where Obstinacy alone is to be opposed, viz. *Contra negantem principia non est disputandum*.

I HAVE

I HAVE before supposed, that of different Modifications of ecclesiastical Policy, any one might have been originally fixed upon, as should have seemed to the sovereign Power, upon mature Deliberation, best conducive to answer the Ends of Religion, and the Good of the State, consistent with divine Laws. But I cannot help thinking it must have been essential to this original Establishment, that it should be **uniform**, through the whole Community; and not Room given to the Humour and Caprice of some one or a few assuming wealthy Persons, in every Congregation, to modify and prescribe for themselves and the Body, wherein they preside, **as we have known attempted and done; not always with the best success to the Peace of the Publick, or even of those subordinate Brotherhoods.**

A PERSON of a lively Imagination would easily draw a very entertaining Picture of a national Church under such a **Regulation**. And indeed a critical History of the numerous Sectaries and various **Elegancies of Administration** during the Reign of the Saints, under the **pious** Government of *Oliver Cromwell*, would not be a bad Ebauche of such a Picture. Upon which I beg Leave to make but this one Remark, for the Entertainment and Instruction of my Friend and his Associates. That after Invention and Imagination had been rack'd and exhausted, by the Numerous, or almost innumerable Experiments at a new *Evangelical universal Form* (or rather a *rudis indigestaque Moles*) of ecclesiastical Constitution, during that whimsical Period; they found, after all, no Rest for the Sole of their Foot (like *Noah's* tired Dove, wasted with roaming over the vast Confusion) but by returning to the Ark of that publick Establishment, which they had before so unmercifully, so imprudently, so unjustly rejected, as a genuine Daughter of *the Mother of Harlots and Abominations*; but which they, after long and very dear Experience, found the only Way to compose publick Differences, regulate all proceedings Sacred

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and Secular, and answer all the Ends of civil Policy, and the Christian Protestant Religion.

ALL these Experiments of Ecclesiastical as well as civil Commotion, Confusion and Mischief, concurred to confirm and exemplify the Truth of that political Maxim our blessed Lord Jesus laid down, as resulting from the eternal Reason and Wisdom of the most High: *A Kingdom divided against itself is brought to Desolation; and every City or House divided against itself shall not stand.* And what is a Kingdom divided against itself, if one where publick Affairs are to be administred by two different independent soveraign Powers, be not so?

WERE the perfect Reason of every Thing clearly distinguishable by every Man; and were there no Passions or prevailing personal Interests, to oppose this perfect Reason; the Affairs of the Church, as well as of the State, would be easily administred; as I have before observed in my Preface; but as long as Ignorance, Pride and Avarice exist amongst Men, it will always require a Government very well established, to secure the Affairs of the Church, as well as *other Affairs* of the State, from their mischievous Influences.

FOR the further Illustration whereof, and for my Readers further Instruction in the Merits of this Controversy, it may not be amiss to transcribe from my *Essay upon the Supremacy, &c.* P. 38. a Passage out of *Eusebius, Lib. 8. 1.* reciting a String of Excellencies, which, as that learned Historian informs us, adorned the Pastors of the primitive Church, towards the latter End (if not rather after the Determination) of the Period, I think, generally assigned to that Denomination; while the Ecclesiastical Affairs had the *original Privilege* of being totally exempted from all Cognisance and Jurisdiction of the Civil Power; and under the sole Administration of the Clergy, and which blessed State the same total Exemption could not fail to be always productive of; as is exemplified afterwards; where I have recited a most eminent Instance

Instance of the Effects of that Exemption. Οἱ τε δοκῶντες ἡμῶν ποιμένες ἡ δὲ θεοσεβείας δεσμὸν παρωσάμενοι ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀνεφλέγοντο φιλονεικίαις, αὐτὰ δὲ τὰυτὰ μόνα, τὰς ἐριδας καὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς, τόντε ζῆλον καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχθος καὶ μῖσος ἐπαύχοντες διὰ τε τυραννίδας φιλαρχίας ἐκθύμως διεκδικῶντες, &c.

“THOSE who had the Character of Pastors amongst us, rejecting the Laws of our Holy Religion, were enflamed with Ambition against one another, prosecuting only such Things as Contentions, Threatnings, Jealousies, mutual Hatred and Enmity, out of a violent Fondness for Superiority, in Order to Tyranny and Oppression.”

HERE you have, dear Reader, a Picture taken from the Life, by a most masterly Hand, of the genuine Offspring of that State of the Church which these Advocates for *complete Reformation*, have, for more than two hundred Years, been with the utmost Ardor and indefatigable Application engaged in the Prosecution of, in this Nation. And as they are well acquainted with that Maxim of scholastic Philosophy, *Idem quâ idem semper facit idem. The same physical Causes have always the same physical Effects.* We need not be much at a Loss about the ultimate Object of their Prosecution. Tho’ I will do them the Justice, to vouch for them, from my own Acquaintance, that I firmly believe the greatest Part of the Body have no such View; that they are from Principle Protestants, and cordial Enemies to Popery; and that it is chiefly from Inadvertency and false Apprehension, and perhaps some little Pleasure in Opposition, that they are pursuing that Exemption of all Ecclesiastical Concerns from the Cognisance of the Civil Government, as the Cause of God and true Religion; which is really, as here laid down, the Foundation, the Corner Stone, the first Principle and main Spring of Popery; not considering themselves in this as the Cat’s Paw, in the Hands of a few invisible main Conductors, who are endeavouring to abuse their Zeal for true Religion to the Restoration of the grossest Corruption, Imposition, Perversion and Usurpation.

tion. Such a Zeal possessed the Men of *Ashdod*, 1 Sam. v. 8. those of *Iconium*, *Acts* xiv. and those of *Ephesus*, *Acts* xix. And it is as necessary a Piece of Prudence in the Conduct of public Affairs, under the gentlest Treatment of People of honest and virtuous Intentions, to guard against the mischievous Consequence of their mistaken Zeal and ill-grounded Prejudices, as to resist the open Attempts of worse-minded, but not more dangerous Enemies.

P. 16. MY Antagonist, *with his usual Modesty*, charges me with making *Grotius inconsistent with himself*.

I HAD drawn out a full Answer to this Piece of Scurrility; but as the Charge is most plainly false and the Quotations exactly true, I drop the Defence, and leave the mighty *Grotius* to struggle with this ambitious Stripling, Believing it will not be in the Power of the little Demagogue to demolish his Colossian Adversary, as *David* did *Philistia's* Champion. **For the Contest is not important enough to engage the Concurrence of Omnipotence.**

I SHALL probably, for equal Reason, neglect to animadvert upon other such shameless and trifling Improprieties in the Process of this Reply.—Such Things have not, as I said before, a Right to a calm Debate. No Man of Sense, would have had Recourse to so mean Artifices, such Apish Tricks, to give *Force to his Reasoning*, could his Cause have been defended, *or could he have defended it*, by the Help of just Arguments and manly Ratiocination.

I HAVE had, and shall have Occasion to mention the *Jure naturali* (he says I had omitted) elsewhere in this Reply, as I have also with just Propriety mentioned it in my printed Letter not much to his Honour.

P. 18. AFTER reciting (in P. 17.) my Declaration, *That upon Proof of any Inconsistency of the Requirements of the national Establishment with any Law of God, I would be a Dissenter over again*: He, with his usual Composure and Decency, asks,—*And will nothing less less content you?*—

then

then you may continue in your present Situation. A very fair and polite Acknowledgment! And I answer: No. — Nothing less will do. — And my Reason is, because our blessed Redeemer himself, and after him his Apostles and Evangelists, have made Obedience to the civil Laws, or Laws of the State (*Civitatis*) under the preceding Limitation the universal and indispensable Duty of all his Disciples.

IF therefore upon Supposition of my deliberate Disobedience to the State, and an authoritative Demand of the Reason of my Conduct, I answer, *it is because the Injunction is inconsistent with such an undisputed Law of God*: I have here an Opportunity to shew a laudable Zeal for the Honour of the Divine Government, and my Resolution of Obedience to his Laws, superior to all human Commands: But if I am not able to render such a Reason, I shall be justly esteemed a Fool, or an obstinate Traitor; a Rebel, and Enemy to my Country. This is quite agreeable to the Defence the Apostles made, for their Opposition to the **Laws of their Country**, *Acts* iv. 19. *Whether it be right in the Sight of God, to hearken unto you rather than unto God, judge ye. For we cannot but speak the Things we have seen and heard*: Agreeably to the Command of their divine and heavenly Lord and Master, *Mat.* xxiii. 3. *The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses Seat; all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do.* So far as they acted agreeably to their public Character, and to the Laws of Heaven, they were to be obeyed, and nothing could dispense with that Obedience, but the real or apprehended Inconsistency of their Commands with the Divine Laws; and, I hope, a Christian Protestant Government hath as much Right to Obedience, as a *Jewish* Sanhedrim.

BUT I have met with some Persons, even of Learning and Philosophy, besides the Gentleman I am now engaged with, who have not scrupled with him to assert, directly or consequentially, that Things relating to Religion, tho' in their Nature allowed to be lawful and innocent, yet by being enjoined by the Civil Power, become sinful
and

and unlawful in the Sight of God; and that this alone is a sufficient Reason for Non-conformity. This Proposition was certainly first broached at *Rome*, of whose assumed Supremacy it is visibly a genuine Offspring, and justly ~~therefore~~ thrown out of our Constitution, at the happy Reformation, when the King was declared supreme in all Things, ecclesiastical and temporal. But our Sticklers for a thorough Reformation, think this Article was overdone, and that this Instance of Power should be restored to the Church, that is, to the Priests; or in their Language, to the *sacred Ministry*, or People, or both. But I have never yet had the good Fortune to see the last mentioned Proposition proved; and from the ruinous Effects of its *quondam Prevalence*, in Part recited before, I hope these Nations will never be so abandoned, by the Favour of Heaven, as to have it again reduced to Practice.

P. 18. WE are now come to Mr. Bourn's Knock-down Argument; his *argumentum Herculeum*; whose dreadful Effect if we can but evade or repel, or especially (*whereof I do not despair*) if we can turn it upon himself; I hope we may be comfortably safe from all further Fear of Attack. He says, if we allow the secular Powers to have the Direction and Controul of ecclesiastical Affairs, we may thence infer, that if the said Powers should command our going on a Crusado, or other religious military Expedition, for Recovery of the Holy Land out of the Hands of the Infidels, we must obey: Or, if the same Power should command us to go to the Top of Mount Calvary (*perhaps that where our Lord suffered, near Jerusalem, tho' that he does not say, or its modern Namesake*) not far from Paris, by Way of Penance — (*Do the secular Powers use to enjoin religious Penances?*) — or to confess *there* our Sins: Or if the same Power enjoin us a great many other Things, of like Elegance and Propriety, we should be obliged to obey, &c. This is a fair Representation of this tremendous Argument; an easy Consideration whereof

will shew how much it is in Mr. *Bourn's* Favour,——
or in mine.——

SUCH Things as those have sure enough been enjoined; and particularly the first, in this and other Nations of *Europe*; perhaps by the supreme civil Powers. But it is to be observed, it was only during the Prevalence of Popery, in its highest Pitch and utmost Extent of Sovereignty. And that since the Wings of that towering ravenous Eagle were clipt by the happy Success of the Reformation, there hath been little Reason to complain of this Sort of sacred enthusiastic Impositions, those military Devotions. I know not what might have been the Issue of the Victory, Prevalence and triumphant Establishment of Popery, in those Struggles which were made against it, in *Germany* and other Parts of *Europe*, wherein our Fathers of this Nation had a glorious Share, in the Sixteenth Century. We should, no doubt, upon the Triumphs of Holy Church have had the Clouds of Ignorance advantageously thickned, and the Chains of our spiritual Slavery most religiously aggravated, by such like Instances of Ecclesiastical Sovereignty. But even, without that, supposing the sovereign Powers of any Nation should require the Concurrence of their liege People, in such a rhodomontado Scheme; I know not how they would excuse their Disobedience, more than in those many Levees which were sometime made, in these Nations, for Vindication of the Sovereign's Right to the Dominions he claimed in *France*, or might happen to claim in any other Part of the World. So that, I am afraid, the Scheme of an ambitious Prince, upon such a View, might prove equally mischievous and injurious to the Nation, under whatever Form of religious Establishment.

To shew the dreadful Force of this Argument, of my sagacious and learned Adversary, I endeavoured, in one of my Letters to him, previous to his printing his Piece, to put it into the Form of a Syllogism thus:

(1.) ' It is contrary to the known Laws of God, that
' any of the Subjects of *England* should be required to go
F ' upon

‘ upon a Crusado, or other military Expedition, for the
 ‘ Recovery of the Holy Land, out of the Hands of the
 ‘ Infidels.’

(2.) ‘ But if the Administration of Ecclesiastical Af-
 ‘ fairs be entrusted to the secular Government, they may
 ‘ possibly, in some Time to come, require some of the
 ‘ said Subjects to go upon some such Expedition.’

(3.) ‘ Therefore it is absolutely unlawful for the Civil
 ‘ Powers to have the sovereign Direction of Ecclesiastical
 ‘ Affairs.’

I HAVE, since the first publishing this Syllogism, seen a Letter from Mr. *Bourn*; wherein, with a Deal of *wrathful Indignation*, he calls it a foolish and unjust Syllogism; and he says right, for so it is. But that is not my Fault; and I have this to plead in my own Excuse; that it is an exact Representation of his Argument, to the best Advantage. And unless the first Proposition be true, (which the preceding State of the Case proves it is not, nor is such a Requirement by the sovereign Powers, upon the Subjects of *England*, contrary to the original or revealed Law of God, and *a malum in se*) there can be no Foundation for his Argument; and it is naturally false, especially since so long as we can keep the sovereign Administration of our civil Affairs, both ecclesiastical and secular, out of the Hands of the Priests, which I hope we shall by the Favour of the most High always do; there will never be any Danger of the second Proposition being put in Execution; and therefore the whole Argument will be a mere Nullity; and fit only to fill up a vacant Space in the Author's Pericranium. And thus this frightful Argument, as the Author hath stated it, contrary to all Truth and Probability, is quite stript of all its Terror. But let us, if you please, endeavour, with the Author's Permission, to place it in a truer Light; and, as we say, set the Saddle on the right Horse.

WE all know the Crusadoes, and such like Expeditions, were undertaken and prosecuted, at the sole Instigation of the holy See, under specious delusive Pretences of Religion

ligion and the Glory of God; but in Truth, generally from Views wholly secular, and for the most Part, to divert the martial Schemes of enterprising Princes, from falling upon one another, to the incommoding his Holiness's Affairs, and disturbing his religious Repose, sacred Indolence and Luxury. And it is hardly to be supposed, the secular Princes would ever have engaged in such wild and impolitick Attempts, if they had not had, by the Management of Holy Cheat and Artifice, Ignorance and Superstition enough to believe that the Pope's Consecration of such devout Madneſſes, would render them meritorious of the Favour of Heaven, for the secular and spiritual Welfare of themselves and their Kingdoms. And the other oppressive Effects of spiritual Power and Usurpation, justly complained of, were wholly the Offspring of the self-same sovereign Superstition. And it is plain, that after the secular Princes had begun to shake off those adamantine Chains of spiritual Slavery, wherewith the sovereign Usurper had had Address enough to load them, their Subjects, through the Christian World, were no longer oppressed with such scandalous Impositions.

BUT pray consider—What is, or what then was the Power of *Rome*? — Did it arise from the gradual Encroachments which the secular Sovereigns of the Earth had, from Time to Time, been making upon the Rights and Immunities of the Christian Church,—as the Author of *Free and Candid Considerations* has suffered himself, by a groundless as inconsiderate Prejudice, to believe and assert, contrary to all united Testimony of Truth and Fact; and for the avoiding of the like whereof, in these happy Kingdoms, he hath been exhausting all the Force of his Learning, Zeal and Oratory, to dissuade or prevent all Tendency of the secular Powers towards touching the least Part of the sanctified Furniture or Utensils, with their unhallowed Hands; so far as that they may not be permitted so much as to reach a Hammer for rivetting on those Chains of holy Thralldom?—You'll not find a Man of any Acquaintance with History, who will dare

to affirm such a Thing.—No! That monstrous, overgrown, oppressive and illegal Tyranny, which claims to tread upon the Necks of Kings, and demands from the Sovereigns of the Earth, in Token of Subjection to his spiritual Dominion, to crouch down, like cringing Slaves, and kiss the holy Slipper, and much more, that they avow to hold their Crowns and Realms in Fee, under his universal Empire, and as at his Donation and sovereign Pleasure; this holy Tyrant, I say, this Head of the Church, this Son of Perdition, 2 *Thess.* ii. 4. who opposeth and exalteth himself against all that is called God, and under a false and groundless Pretence of a Divine Legation, growing from his first Assumption of this Supremacy, this sovereign Priesthood, by progressive Degrees to invade the Rights of the Princes of the Earth, and bring them into Subjection to his usurped Empire; at last compleated his ambitious Design, and got his triple Crown established. — Hence the Things, my Antagonist so justly complains of, took their Rise and Progress. So that it is very evident, that had the Kings and sovereign Rulers of the Earth continued to support their natural and proper Authority, over the public civil Affairs of their several Dominions, both secular and ecclesiastical, which are equally civil (*quippe pariter ad felicem CIVITATIS statum pertinentes,*) This sovereign Invader, of all Right, Human and Divine, had never gain'd the Establishment of such transcendent Power, as he exults and glories in. This the learned Chancellor *Puffendorf* hath incontestably proved. Whence it undeniably follows, that all those Arguments, whereby my learned Respondent, and all his Associates, the steady Advocates for the *Jure Divino* Right of this ecclesiastical Immunity, this Exemption of sacred Affairs from the prophane Touch of the secular Sovereigns, are so many Pleas in Support of the grand Apostacy and Usurpation, and my Assertion will stand for ever good against all Opposition, except that of the Sword, *That every Member of a sovereign State, is in Duty bound to conform to every Institution of that State: Under this only*

only general, necessary and essential Restriction, that the same be consistent with every Law of God.

I KNOW not but I may, as well here, as elsewhere, croud in a brief Answer to the latter Part of a Letter, upon this Subject, published in *Whitworth's*, January 6. 1756. (*for the easiest expence, and the most proper Application*) postponing the former Part to a further Opportunity. But,

PREVIOUS to my Answer, I beg Leave to observe how the Gentleman, who has been so good as to enrich the World with that learned Piece, chooses to deal so much in the Way of the **Tremendous**, as if convinced from Experience, this was of greater Import to the Success of his Ministrations, than all the Charms of Truth and Reason, Virtue and Philosophy, Holy Faith, divine Love, and the Joys of Immortality. He endeavours to arm Heaven and Earth, and 'tis well if not Hell too, against me, without seeming to reflect upon the gross Impiety of applying the sacred Terrors of the Almighty, to promote the Cause of Falshood, Self-interest, Confusion and lawless Tyranny. — He says, my Arguments in Favour of ecclesiastical Polity, lead to introduce the Inquisition. — *A terrible Thing this indeed!* — But he very prudently conceals the Train of Deduction. To this I can make him a very brief and decisive Answer, to which I fear no Reply: — Keep but the Power out of the Hands of the Priests, as wisely settled by the Reformation, and we shall never need to apprehend the Terrors of the **HOLY OFFICE**, as said before of the Crusadoes, &c. — He adds: My Scheme of Policy casts a Reflection upon the **Wisdom and Providence** of God in the first Establishment of the Church. — Just contrary again! — It hath always been observed by the learned and pious Advocates for Christianity, thro' all the Ages of the Church to this Day: That it was one glorious Evidence and Demonstration of the **WISDOM** and **PROVIDENCE** of God, and of the heavenly Original and Divine Authority of the Christian Institution; that it seemed
good

good to the Almighty, to plant and propagate it originally, and during the primitive Ages, upon Principles and Rules of Conduct and Administration, quite contrary to those of human Prudence and Policy. *That Our holy Faith and Religion might appear to all the World, not to stand in the Wisdom of Men, but in the Power of God,* 1 Cor. ii. 5. He order'd that that Train of Causes and Consequences, which, according to *the Wisdom of this World*, was most likely to produce its utter Extinction and Extirpation, should concur to its most illustrious Establishment, and render it triumphant over the sovereign Tyranny, and the Rulers of the Darkeness of this World, and all the Powers of spiritual Wickedness in high Places.

THIS the Almighty made peculiarly and eminently visible, in that the Church did, during the first three hundred Years of its primitive Establishment, rise to the highest Pitch of spiritual Purity and Splendour (notwithstanding the most violent and powerful Opposition, Oppression and Persecution) under the Conduct and Direction of that same Order of Men, acting by the powerful Influences of the Holy Spirit of the most High, who, after the ceasing of those miraculous Influences, and the providential Consignment of the Church to the ordinary Efficiency of human Wisdom, Learning, Power and Policy, did in Prosecution of worldly Views, as before explained, under the specious Claim of the same spiritual Rule and Supremacy, they had before acted by, betray the pure Religion of the Holy Jesus to be defiled, corrupted, and even subverted, by all the eventual Abominations of Popery and *Rome*: From which it pleased the Almighty, after more than a Thousand Years of spiritual Captivity, to deliver and ransom his chosen, even from this worse than *Egyptian Thraldom*, and make *Kings their nursing Fathers, and Queens their nursing Mothers*, Isa. xlix. 23. Which Prophecy was always understood to belong to the Christian Church; but never seems to have been so literally and adequately accomplished as since being delivered, by the Reformation, from these cruel Task-masters,
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the Ministers of Ignorance and Oppression, under the sovereign Pontiffe, they were restored to the natural and rightful Subjection and Protection of the secular Sovereigns of every State, the natural and original Asserters and Defenders of Righteousness and Truth amongst the Sons of Men.

HE says further, if that Maxim, *Where there is no Law, there is no Transgression*, be applicable to the present Case, then may Christians in all Ages claim the Benefit of it. *He's here very hard set to keep Head above Water.* The Maxim, Sir, is of Divine Authority, and universally true; and Christians may in all Ages claim the Benefit of it; but if the Author of that Letter understand the Laws of Argument, he endeavours *knowingly, and therefore wickedly, to betray the Interest of Truth, for the Support of his Cause*; and if he does not, he has no Right to intermeddle in this or any other Controversy, nor any Claim to a calm Debate and Answer. Is there no Law which requires the Subjection of ecclesiastical Affairs, as here limited, to the civil Powers, as you suppose? You know there is. *We have just proved it.* Does not the Precept of general Subjection, *Rom. xiii. 1.* and very many others of the same Tenor, include all subordinate Species and Particulars? You know it does. Are not Affairs of religious Polity one Species of civil or social Affairs, and so included? *Prop. 5.* It lies upon you, Sir, in the necessary Defence your Cause, to shew where these are exempted. You have not done this. — You never can do it. — Our Maxim will stand for ever good, and my Conclusion be for ever true, that the civil Sovereignty influences generally. You can never get off it. — You have always laid an unjust Claim to an Exemption, but could never prove it. — I do not envy nor blame all Indulgences by Statute or Conivance. I desire, and shall, to my Power, always endeavour their Establishment and Continuance: But with Respect to lawful Claim and Constitution, the Case is as I have stated it.

AND hence, I think, we have an easy and full Answer to
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the third Paragraph of this Letter, which really needs no other Answer than is given in the Preface : The Thing is sufficiently plain to every One that will see : But the *αὐτο-τυφλὴς* there's no curing. The Author says, 'tis very plain, that the Injunctions of Obedience to the civil Powers related, in the primitive Church, only to secular Affairs. To which I answer : There's no such Limitation expressed in Scripture, and we have seen, and shall soon see further, there is none by just Inference or Deduction from universal Truth. And the Author's Assertion is plainly establishing an universal Conclusion in Law, from a particular Instance of Fact, affirming a Thing ought always to be done, because by a particular Disposition of Circumstances, it is necessarily done once, or for a Time ; contrary to all just Policy and all just Reasoning. This is, with a Witness, making a Precedent into a Law, contrary to what I have affirmed in my Preface, and what none of these Gentlemen will, I am sure, dare to deny. This is an absolute Snare to beguile unstable or unwary Souls ; and I think they all know it to be so.

THE Thing is clear ; the supreme secular Powers of the State always had an essential and unalienable Right (*Prop. 5.*) in the Nature of Things, and by Divine Institution to the authoritative Direction and Regulation of all social or civil Affairs, ecclesiastical as well as secular, not determined by the Laws of Heaven, agreeably to those Laws.

THIS Power was unavoidably intermitted, in the primitive Church, as to Exercise not Right, while the Laws of the State, *Jewish* and *Pagan*, were so inconsistent with those of the Church, as made it impracticable for the civil Powers to interest themselves, in the Church's Establishment and Preservation. But,

THERE is nothing essential in the Christian Religion (as *Puffendorf* most justly observes,) which forbids or obstructs the external Administration and Polity thereof to be under the Direction and Control of the supreme civil Powers. And, had the governing Powers, *Jewish* and *Gentile*, at the first Establishment

ment of Christianity, been Christian, it is impossible but the Laws which were then made, and which remain unaltered to this Day, requiring universal Subjection to the Powers that be (under our necessary Regulation) affirming them to be ordained of God, would have been understood as necessarily giving or confirming to them a Divine Right to that Direction and Controul. And thus we find the Apostles of our Lord vindicating their Disobedience to the *Jewish* Governors, only from the Inconsistency of their Injunctions with the Laws of God, as shewn a little above. And this was the only Reason why the Christian Church, during that Inconsistency, was under a Necessity of supporting a Government, independent of the Civil Powers, within themselves, as well as they could. But, even then, they did not disobey the Heathen Rulers as Heathen Rulers, but only so far as their Commands were inconsistent with the Laws of God, in the Christian Institution.

In the famous Letter of the younger *Pliny* to the Emperor *Trajan*, he writes—*Quod ipsum sacre (patet illos) desuisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua betarias esse vetueram.* Whether this Order of the President was against their antelucan Assemblies; or only against their *morem rursus cocundi ad capiendum cibum*; doth not appear; but 'tis plain, by that Letter, that, in some Way, they yielded Obedience to the Emperor's Authority, in Affairs relating to their religious Assemblies, ~~where they might do it without transgressing the Laws of their Religion.~~

FOR the fuller Defeasance of the *Jure Divino* Claim of this Exemption of Ecclesiastical Affairs from all Jurisdiction and Direction of the Civil Sovereign, it may not be improper here to allege another and much stronger Instance, from the antient Records of Christianity, to shew that the Church had then no such Idea of her own exclusive Sovereignty.

I NEED not acquaint the learned Reader, that not long after the Churches Affairs had been taken into an Union

of Interest with the other Concerns of the State, the great Controversy of the Arrian Heresy happened; whose Progress came, in a small Time, to have a very great Influence upon the Interests of the whole Christian Church.

Now, upon the Scheme my Antagonists (as well as the Papists and all Advocates for the Divine Right of the Exemption) go upon; that is, supposing it to be essential to Religion, or to Christianity, by Divine Appointment (and if it be not so, it cannot be essential at all;) is it not inconsistent with the Wisdom of Divine Providence, and with that supposed essential Article of the Christian Constitution, that the Means applied for Remedy of that great Ecclesiastical Evil, should be proposed, undertaken, prosecuted and compleated solely under the Emperor's Agency, Authority and Influence, from Beginning to End? I mean, his imperial Commands, by Letters and Messages, to *Alexander*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, and to other of the Bishops and Clergy, particularly to *Arius*, commanding a total Cessation and Abolition of all further Dispute and Controversy, upon so intricate, curious and unnecessary Subjects; and his other Orders about the same Thing; and, upon the Inefficacy of this Method; the convening and conducting the great œcumenical Assembly, or general Council at *Nice*, for the Decision and Termination of that most important Dispute; as well as of another, which then was accounted of not much less Moment, and which then was, and for a long Time before had been, the Cause of a good Deal of Disturbance and Controversy, in the Church, viz. the Time for keeping *Easter*. Would not the Emperor, who, as I have elsewhere shewed, was very scrupulous and accurate, in rendring and preserving to the Clergy all that Regard, which, by their former Influence in the Church, they had acquired or claimed, and every other Ecclesiastical Immunity; would not He, I say (even supposing he should have supplied every assistant Means of Action, in that grand Affair) yet have contrived to give the Whole an Appearance of
having

having been conducted under the Influence of the Bishops and Clergy; and have even submitted to profess his own Agency to be under their Direction and Sovereign Ecclesiastical Authority, for the necessary Preservation of that essential Right and Authority, had it then been understood to be any Part of the Constitution.—This would, upon the Supposition before laid down, have certainly been the Case. And as the Bishops of *Rome*, and their Successors, the Popes, claimed this Immunity, in Order to pave the Way to their spiritual Kingdom; they have in latter Times, contrary to the Faith of all History, had the Effrontery to assert, that the Bishop of *Rome* accordingly did, by his sovereign, original, essential, sacred, ecclesiastical Power and Authority, and *with only the Concurrence and subordinate Assistance* of the Emperor, convene and conduct that august Assembly.

THOSE spiritual Politicians were well aware that their avowing the Conduct of that Affair to have been under the Emperor's Authority and Influence, as before shewn to be the Case, would appear quite inconsistent with and subversive of the Scheme of Immunity which they see is absolutely necessary to be laid as a Foundation for their spiritual Sovereignty, to which, without that, they never could form any Thing like a Pretence of Claim. And they therefore published the above-said impudent Falshood in its Support. And they do, in Confirmation thereof, still assert, that the calling or summoning of general Councils is originally, universally and unchangeably one Part of the Office and Duty of the Pope, as sovereign universal Head of the Church. And therefore the modern Advocates for the essential Right of this Immunity, for the primitive Church and for their own separate Societies, cannot insist upon their Claim, without impeaching the great Christian Emperor as intruding into another's Province, and without expressly advocating that originally false Assumption upon which the Whole of Popery is grounded and established, and which, should it be made an essential

Part of any political Constitution, would naturally, and almost necessarily, lead to the same Kind of Dominion. — And this, moreover, my Antagonist in particular, the Author of the Letter, cannot do without incurring that Charge justly, which he hath unjustly imputed to his Neighbour, *viz. of accusing Divine Providence of Unrighteousness and Inconsistency, in suffering that Affair to have been so conducted*; yet it was so done, and that without the least Opposition or Remonstrance from, and contrariwise with the highest Applause, Approbation and Concurrence of both Clergy and Laity.

AND hence, I hope, it will appear beyond Controversy, that as soon as the Inconsistency of the Secular and Ecclesiastical Laws ceased, by the State's becoming Christian, and the Christian Religion becoming one Part of the Civil Constitution, or of the public Interest of the State, those general Laws, before constituted, came to be of full Force in Fact as well as Right; and the Civil Government, in every Christian Nation came thereby to have a Power of ordering every Thing belonging to Religion, which had not been instituted by Divine Authority. And thus it was, 'till Popery found the Means of trampling down, with her cloven Foot, the Divine Enclosure, and bringing Things to Confusion.

I KNOW not what map be, but I have a strong Suspicion these Allegations will not be easily defeated; as I find the Assertion, just quoted, affirmed by Cardinal *Baronius*, *Binius*, and other Advocates for Popery. My principal Opponent is a great Dealer in, and consequently shou'd be a good Judge of Absurdity. I think I may, without much Apprehension, acquaint him and others, that hardly any Thing can be more absurd or a greater Solecism, than to assert, that a Divine Precept, delivered in the most universal Terms, should yet be universally understood, but to require an Obedience much more limited and incommensurate to its plain Import, than according to the certain and indisputable Influence of eternal Reason and Necessity.

I HAVE

I HAVE thus vindicated myself from the false Charge of advocating a Doctrine introductive of the Inquisition, or any other spiritual Invasion of human Right. These, we have seen, always were the genuine Offspring of sacerdotal Pride and Power, which my Adversary is (*perhaps inconsiderately*) asserting. I have not impeached the Divine Wisdom and Providence, in the first Establishment of the Christian Religion, as I am falsely charged. I desire the Author of that Letter, as well as Mr. Bourn, and all the Party, will consider me as a disinterested Friend to Truth, and I leave it to answer (as I safely may) for all its own real Consequences; as well knowing that This is the great Foundation, upon which *the World is established that it cannot be moved*, Psal. xciii. 1. And of him who maketh This the Foundation and Guide of his Reasonings and Conduct, it may be said,

*Si fractus illabatur Orbis
Impavidum ferient Ruinae.*

To proceed with Mr. Bourn's Answer:

HE says, p. 19. *In short, whither will not this Doctrine lead us?* Never to Popery, Sir, you are safe enough for that; but, I have just shew'd whither your Doctrine of Ecclesiastical Immunity has lead our Christian Ancestors, and whither it would lead us all over again, if we were to follow it. You, Sir, argue from the incoherent Idea's of Attachment and Prejudice, I argue from original self-evident Principles of true Reason, Religion and Policy, as they have been moreover confirmed, by the repeated Experience of near seventeen hundred Years. — Yet, You say of my Position, *it equally vindicates Conformity to the Church of Rome.* — It is strange, a Position which digs up the Foundation of Popery, should vindicate Conformity to it. What's Popery without independent Power? But,

THIS is, I find, a general common Place Answer, *with the Party*, and is always lugg'd in, right or wrong.

I RE-

I REMEMBER, at the Time of my Conforming, a very zealous and very serious Advocate for the MEETING, (equally zealous with my present Opponent; but, to his greater Excuse and Vindication, not of near so much Erudition,) desired me (in a calm friendly Manner) to give him the Reasons of my Conduct. — Upon my giving him nearly the same I have described in my Preface; He immediately answered (in the important Words of my present Antagonist,) Why? You might, by the same Argument, as well vindicate a Conformity to the Church of *Rome*. This inconsistent Answer might be well enough pardon'd to an honest superannuated Sea-captain; but is very absurd (to borrow once again this pretty Term) in a Gentleman of a learned Education. To this Allegation, I made him (as I now make you) this brief and decisive Answer: So I might, Sir, if the Church of *Rome* had a sovereign Power in this Nation, and enjoyn'd nothing more contrary to the Word of God, than any Thing our Law enjoins. But so long as the idolatrous Sacrifice of the Mass, the **absurd** Doctrines of the Infallibility and Supremacy, of Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Prayers for the Dead, the religious Worship of Saints and of Angels, the Adoration of the Host and Reliques, holy Whippings, devout Pilgrimages, the absolute Power of Forgiveness, and a vast Fracas of pompous and ridiculous Fooleries (to which nothing but ignorant Prejudice or interested Perverseness could induce any One to compare any Injunction of the Church of *England*) as long, I say, as these are Part of the Laws of the Church of *Rome*, to which she requires the indispensable Conformity and Submission of all her Members, I can never submit to be of her Community or Communion. I desire Mr. *Bourn*, and the Author of the Letter, will calmly consider this Answer, compare their Reproach of the Church of *England* with this Description, and give me a friendly Detail of all the **Ab-surdities**, Improprieties and Inconsistencies, at which he is a great Hand.

P. 20. HE says: *Thus I have shewn, in the Compass of a few Words, the Absurdity of this Position; (dear Absurdity! how often art thou lugg'd in!) Its Tendency would be destructive of Piety and Virtue (that would be a great Ditp,) by placing something else in their Stead.* Let me here ask you, Sir, one important serious Question, as you have asked a Deal of needless Ones.——As we are now arguing about a legal Conformity to the national established, Protestant Church of England, does not this Assertion plainly infer, that the said Establishment hath a natural Tendency to destroy all Piety and Virtue, and to place something else (I warrant, Ignorance, Prophaneness and Superstition) in their Room?——Pray, Sir, with what Sincerity shall we believe your Gentlemen return public Thanks for the Establishment of the Protestant Religion in this Nation, as they do, if they have the same Idea, you express of it? Quit yourself of the Inference, and I'll take Care of your Question.——In Answer to which, I have, in my Turn, in the Compass of a few Pages (if not Words) shewn the natural, experimental, dreadful, unavoidable Tendency of your dear Doctrine, of Ecclesiastical Exemption, Immunity, spiritual Sovereignty, Tyranny. I have shewn, and a much greater Man hath shewn, it was the Soil, the Seed and Manure, wherein and whence the Popish Ufurpation was sown, nourished, improved, matured, compleated; and whose natural and genuine Tendency is to repeat the same tremendous Course, to the Destruction of all Government, Order, Religion, Piety, Liberty and Virtue; tho', I hope, as before, it is not much consider'd in that Light by the Dissenters.

P. 24. HE is not quite satisfied of the Propriety of the Subordination of Ecclesiastical Officers, &c. or how this is conducive to the public Good. I apprehend, the Explication of this Affair may not be of any great Importance to him or me, 'till his Judgment or mine shall be of more necessary Concurrence than at present, in public Affairs.

But

But I believe it will, upon Examination, be found that in all large Communities, Ecclesiastical as well as Secular, Officers have been *mostly* in Subordination; and this hath always been esteemed absolutely necessary to the Good of the Public.

THE Priests in the Tabernacle and Temple, though not a sovereign Society, were in Subordination, and that by Divine Appointment, both to each other, in the different Orders, and All to the sovereign Power in the State. And, I am perswaded, one and the same general Reason always hath prevailed, and universally will prevail: The Instance I cite merely as a Precedent, not as a Law.

P. 25. I THINK the Distinction of civil and religious Society (tho' I condemn it not, as having been of pretty general Use,) is yet not of any great Importance: As in every Christian Protestant Country the same Persons and the same Affairs, both Secular and Religious, are constitutive of, and essentially appertain to one and the same Community; that is, as said before, *Res Ecclesiasticæ sunt et ipse civiles, quippe pariter cum secularibus ad unam eandemq; CIVITATEM pertinentes*. And the Government of the Lord Jesus, as Sovereign of the Church, at least, so far as it comes under our Consideration, is administered by the Civil Sovereign, as his Deputy. And He, as KING of KINGS and LORD of LORDS, and *Prince of the Kings of the Earth*, is as well Proprietor and Sovereign of Civil as Sacred, of Secular as of Ecclesiastical Affairs; and the Design and the Honour of his Kingdom amongst Men is as much concerned and interested in one as in the other.

P. 23. I BLAME not (to be sure) Mr. Bourn's Allowance of public Forms of Prayer, nor his superior Esteem of his Kinsman's, nor even his Preference of the *Extempore* of that Gentleman, or any other, before 'em all; *on Condition he allow me the same Liberty*, and, particularly, not take it amiss that I esteem a Form of Prayer, given in *Matth. vi. 9—15.* before his Kinsman's

man's, or those which I reckon much superior; but I observe, in *P. 24.* *they must not be enjoined by the supreme Power.*——No: That would spoil all. The most useful Things *relating to Religion*, by being enjoyn'd, become unlawful, sinful, oppressive, injurious, heretical; the Opinion and Language of the Church of *Rome*, exactly! And yet I cannot, for my Life, find any Limitation of soveraign Jurisdiction, relating to sacred Affairs, more than to Secular, of Divine Authority. The Civil Government, in the utmost Extent, can only enact what the Almighty hath not forbid, or forbid what the Almighty hath not enacted; and so far it may go, in Church or State, and *he that resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God.* Universally: *tam circa sacra quam secularia.*

P. 25. Mr. *Bourn* takes severe Notice of something which was mentioned before in *Capital Letters, &c.*——And is it then a Crime to repeat a Sentence, or an Argument, or to distinguish it by Capitals? Neither. And he had not mentioned such Things, but in Order to strengthen his Reasoning.——*I have it under his Hand.* Pray, Sir, would not what you urge in that Place have had all its Force for Conviction, unless those Circumstances of the Repetition and the Capital Letters had been added? Poor Relief! A great Sign of a Conscience of Debility, when People have Recourse to such Supports! He very falsely insinuates my advancing something upon no better Evidence than my *Ipse dixit.* He but insinuates it, *for his Readers Relief and Consolation*; he knows I am not, in the whole Preface, liable to that Charge, as it implies a Blame or Blemish: But his fundamental Doctrine of the Exemption, he does not pretend to bring any Proof of. This is all pure *ipse dixit.*

P. 26. HE here begins, and for several Pages carries on, a handsome Description of the Steps our blessed Lord, and his Apostles and Disciples took, in their first preaching

ing the Gospel. I wish his whole Piece had been as well executed; but as the same has nothing at all to do with our Argument of Conformity, I shall not trouble myself and my Readers with a needless Repetition and Remarks upon it. It would, I believe, be, at this Day, a great Advantage to the Church and to the World, if there were an universal Prevalence, of that disinterested Application, to promote the Doctrine and Practice of Truth and Holiness, which then and afterwards so visibly prevailed, and had so great a Tendency to convert the World. But, I desire here to remark,

(1.) THAT there is not one Institution in the Church of *England* contrary to that amiable Description.

(2.) THAT out of all that, and all he hath said besides, and all he can truly say, he is not able, nor ever will be, to make out a System of Institutions of Divine Authority, for the Government of the Christian Church, in all Ages and Nations. No; that, as necessarily variable, was left to humane Institution,

I HAVE, in my Preface, laid it down as a fundamental Maxim, That a Scripture Precedent, as such (and much less any other) hath not the Force of a Law. This Position, Mr. *Bourn* will not, I am sure, deny, as is noted before. And, it is certain that all the Excellencies of the first and purest Times of the Gospel, *including their Exemption from the Secular Power*, were not a sufficient Security against the Prevalence of very great and shameful Corruptions, before the Establishment of the Church under the first Christian Emperor; as the same are recorded by Ecclesiastical Historians, and whereof I have before given a brief Hint, from the Writings of *Eusebius*, and shewn, moreover, that these very probably sprung from a Want of a secular Restraint, upon the assumed Power of the Church, before the Union of Church and State; as the greatest Abuses undeniably did from the fatal Usurpation of Ecclesiastical Immunity from, and Sovereignty over the Secular Power afterwards, as we have, beyond Contradiction, shewn before. *Pray excuse the Repetition.*

THE

THE numerous Obstructions of the Reformation in *England*, which happened from the natural and political Engagements and Attachments of *Harry* the Eighth; the Emulation, Insincerity, selfish and secular Views of the great Officers, under the unhappy glorious young Prince, his Successor; the many secret Attempts of the Papists, at Home and Abroad, during that Reign; and their open shameless Outrages, under the next; the many Difficulties which embarrassed that Affair, especially all the Beginning of *Q. Elizabeth's* Reign, with some particular Prejudices, which that glorious Princess must be acknowledged to have been under. All these Causes, I say, concurred to give a Form to the Constitution of the Reformed Church of *England*, probably something different from what it would otherwise have been. But, whoever will seriously consider the visible and undeniable Appearances of the Hand of God, in the Beginning, Progress, Obstruction, Renovation, and Accomplishment of that glorious Work, may well be convinced it was the Work of God alone, and such as the Almighty thought best: And our Malecontents, instead of complaining for its not having been originally fitted to their Model, ought, with the utmost Adoration and Gratitude, to acknowledge the abundant Favour and Mercy of God; that, while other Nations are sunk in the Absurdities of Popish Delusion, we have a Protestant Church, established by Law, under such Regulations, as are quite agreeable to the Laws of eternal Reason; the Rights of Mankind; the Institutions of Christianity; the Prevalence of universal Truth; the Purity of Worship; the Glory of God and the Salvation of Men; and what would you have more?

THE Rejection of their great Article of Demand out of the Model of our Ecclesiastical Constitution was, you see, necessarily the first Step to the Reformation; as nothing but the Restoration of the Sovereign Power to its original Right, could put an End to that Oppression and Tyranny, which the Popes of *Rome*, in direct Consequence of

the same Claim and Usurpation of *the pretended original Independence of Church upon the State*, had, for about a thousand Years, been exercising, to the Abolition and Destruction of those fundamental Privileges which are restored, as just said, by the Reformation. And it seems nothing less than Inconsistency and Delusion, that Men who cannot but know this, and who assume to themselves a Superiority of Character, from their zealous Opposition to Popery, should yet demand that Article as essentially necessary to a compleat Reformation, which was itself the first Step, the Foundation and Support of that Depravity which made the Reformation necessary, and without which Popery never could have had a Being. Yet we always hear the Party complaining of this, as the great Defect of the Reformation, and what the first Reformers designed should be afterwards added. May we not be induced to think them given up to *this strong Delusion*, in Consequence of their denying that thankful Acknowledgment of, and Acquiescence in, the Reformation, which was justly due for so merciful and gracious a Dispensation of Heaven.

P. 32. THE *Italians* were not the first that polluted the *pure Streams of the River which made glad the City of our God* (Ps. xlv. 4.) There were many greater or lesser Deviations from, and Corruptions of the original Purity of the Divine Institutions before that, by numerous Heresies which arose in the primitive Times. But it is certain that the Bishop of *Rome* first acquired Possession of what his Brother the Patriarch of *Constantinople* was aiming at; the universal Sovereignty in Spirituals, which, in a small Process of Time, gave him Opportunity of extending his Dominion to Temporals too.

BUT the blessed Hand of Divine Power, as just said, brought us, of these Kingdoms, from under the miserable Effects of that grand Apostacy. And we are now settled under such a Constitution, as that nothing essential seems wanting to continue the flourishing State of the
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Redeemer's Kingdom in these Nations, but the Prevalence of a Spirit of universal Holiness in all Orders, and an humble and peaceable Acquiescence in the Establishment. This last, I think, is universally necessary to the flourishing even of our religious Affairs (according to our Saviour's Maxim, before mention'd;) *whatever particular accidental Advantages may arise, or seem to arise, from the interested Feuds and Emulations of contending Parties ; as some allege.*

P. 38. My Respondent here cites my Quotation from *Puffendorf* most unfairly and injuriously, and he knows he does so. *But this was necessary to strengthen his Reasoning.* This will appear from the easiest Reference to my Preface. That great Statesman asserts, that every Man in the State of Nature, has an original Right to modify his own Divine Worship according to his best Conceptions of Conduciveness to the Ends of Worship, consistently with public Order, and the same may perhaps be affirmed of domestic Worship. Have I said a Word against this? But my Adversary wonders how I durst quote a Passage so much against myself. *I wonder how he durst for Shame say so.*—The intelligent Reader will hardly need my acquainting him that, as *Puffendorf* expressly declares, although this is certainly true, as above limited ; yet immediately upon the supposed Coalition of Mankind into *Societies*, this, as well as every Thing else of a public Nature, and not limited by the Laws of God, came to be under the authoritative Direction of the supreme Power in every State. I have, in my Preface, said those Things may, with the greatest Propriety, be referred to the Consideration and Consultation of Men immediately concerned ; but all is to be administered under the Authority of the sovereign Power ; and the Supposition of the Agency of the Priests, or of the Priests and People joyn'd, independently of the Sovereign and yet in Consistence therewith, is a Self-contradiction, a Solecism in Politics, an *ens rationis*, an Impossibility ; which it was needless here to add.

P. 39.

P. 39. SHOW any one Ecclesiastical Institution, which encroaches upon any Civil Right of Mankind, in these Nations, and the Dispute is over. I have all along allow'd this to be a sufficient Ground of Dissenting and Separation, and I have no Dread of persevering in that Allowance. But however oft, or with how much soever Zeal and Fervour, Discontent, Reproach and Indignation you mention this, you never yet have, you never will produce a single Instance of Fact.

P. 39, 40. I AM here to return Mr. Bourn's late Complement, with more Reason than he had, and express my Wonder, that he should press into his Service such a Passage as that of *Matt. xx. 25.* But, I'll excuse him, for *quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.*

OUR Saviour there expressly declares, that, *the Princes of the Gentiles* (*τῶν ἐθνῶν, of the Nations, the secular Powers universally,*) *exercise Dominion over them, and they who are great exercise Authority upon them; but it shall not be so amongst you.*—Is not this a plain Assertion of the Rights of secular Sovereignty, and the Subordination of all undetermined Affairs to their Jurisdiction, and that the Apostles and their Successors are not to exercise any such Rule? I will not insult you, upon this plain Advantage. But, I question if your Friends will so easily pass this Inadvertency.

P. 41, 42. *Courage! I see Land!*—— We are got to *Hooker* and *Calvin.*—— These two great Lights of the Protestant Religion had not been brought in, but that, as the latter is generally regarded, as the great Patron of Presbyterianism, and the other as an Assertor of High Church and Episcopacy, I might very briefly mention the Concurrence of both, in the Principles of Ecclesiastical Polity, as we have stated them in this Controversy. The former having, with great Truth and Learning, written a Folio Volume expressly upon the Subject;

ject; the latter having treated pretty largely, and with great Skill and Learning, upon the same, in several of the former Chapters of the fourth Book of his Institutions. Both have agreed (whatever Differences may be, or appear to be, in the particular Schemes of Ecclesiastical Policy or Administration,) that the Whole is to be under the authoritative Regulation of the Civil Sovereignty.——Both clearly concur with *Grotius* and *Puffendorf*, in this whole Argument.

P. 43. THE Gentleman seems displeased with my declaring my own private Esteem of the Church of *England* before the Kirk; and says, May not another say the same of the latter? I answer, He has my free Consent. If, upon a due Consideration, he esteems the Constitution of the Kirk preferable, he hath an undubitable Right to declare it. We are under an Obligation, by the Laws of God, to obey the lawful Injunctions of the sovereign Powers we are under; but this may very well consist with an Opinion, that those Injunctions are not the very best that might be. This, I remember, is strenuously urged by *Calvin*, in many Instances. And, I suspect, if One was to examine the Matter closely, the Power of the Kirk will not appear to be or have been, since the Reformation, so much sovereign and independent of the secular Polity as he seems to think.

I now pass to P. 48. Where Mr. *Bourn* hath the Pleasure of being at a Loss to conceive with what Kind of Logic the cited Paragraph closes.——I think, now, that in popular Squabbles (which too often happen) about Matters of small Moment, the best Way of Accommodation is by an authoritative Interposition. And this is certainly one main End of humane Government and Authority. This is to me so evident, that I could hardly think my Respondent serious in his Opposition, had he not illustrated it by a medicinal Comparison, in which I must believe he is serious.

IN P. 50. The Subordination of the Clergy is again haul'd in, to no Manner of Purpose. I have before, in its Vindication, shewn the Authority and Approbation of God and Man; and I need to say no more. I shall be blamed for repeating what is certainly clear enough: That the less Power the Clergy have, the better it hath always been. The more they keep to their Studies, their Pulpits and their pastoral religious Visitations, as you justly allege, in p. 50, the better, I believe, it always was, and always will be, for Church and State: But while they have Influence, and are subject to like Passions as other Men, the Good of the State will always require they should be liable to the same Control and Coercion as *other* Folk, universally.

WHAT is remarked in p. 53, upon my p. xxxi. of the *Preface*, I have mentioned only as my own Conviction, from intimate Acquaintance, and long disinterested and sorrowful Observation, without assuming to censure the Apprehensions of any One upon it, and I am far from being alone in my Opinion. ——— “ I cannot avoid
 “ judging of Things according to the clear Rules of na-
 “ tural Proportion, If I find a Man, in the Affairs of
 “ humane Commerce, allow himself to prosecute Views
 “ of a pecuniary or other personal Interest, by Actions
 “ **clearly inconsistent with the Laws of eternal Reason, and Divine positive Institution,** (whereof I wish I were to seek for Instances,) I can never be persuaded such an One can be under any great Influence of conscientious, scrupulous Regard to the Laws of Heaven, in Things trifling, dubious and non-essential. ——— Remember, Sir, you mentioned before *the Cap fitting and putting it on.* ———

Do you, Sir, believe One in a Hundred of your **conscientious Dissenters**, ever took the Pains necessary to determine their Judgments impartially, **rationaly**, upon the Subject? I think whoever will consider what is *essentially* necessary to a
solid

solid rational Conviction, will answer in the Negative. The Nullity of the Sovereign Power's Right to interfere in Ecclesiastical Institutions, however shewn to be essentially false, is, I firmly believe, the most general Principle gone upon, and they seem very much supported and refreshed with it. And, yet this is most undeniably the Foundation, upon which the whole System of Popery was originally established, and is to this Day upheld, as I think I have pretty fully explained from the natural Reason of Things, strengthened with the greatest Authority, both Divine and Humane. *Pray pardon also this Repetition.*

P. 55. WHAT is here alleged, hath not the least to do with the Question; particular Facts don't defeat general Laws. There were a vast Number of indefensible Actions done, during the unhappy Period of about twenty Years, you are there upon. — But rather to silence than satisfy your Allegations, pray, Sir, consider how your Martyrs or Confessors got into the Possession of those Churches, whence their Ejectment afforded so piteable a Spectacle, and whereof you, with many other Apologists for Non-conformity, speak with so elegant and laudable a Pathos — without seeming ever to reflect to what Distresses the Gentlemen were exposed, who, by the Prevalence of the grand Usurpation, were **violently** put out of their legal Possessions (I say, Sir, out of their **legal Possessions**;) to make Room for the injurious Intrusion of your Saints. The Mention of this should for ever stop your Mouths from all Repetition of the other.

P. 60. It is a very sensible Pleasure to me, to observe that you are forced to change my Representation of Things, and give a false Account of them, before you can get the least Appearance of Advantage. Why should you tell your Readers such a STORY, as that I said in p. x. and xi. of the Preface, that, since the compleating of the sacred Canon, no Power on
I Earth

Earth hath Authority to make *new Institutions*? This is only to flatter your Readers with a false Appearance of the *Absurd*. I neither meant nor said any such Thing. — If I had had nothing but plain Truth to reply to, my Work would have been a good Deal easier. — I said, “No Power on Earth hath, since that Period, a Right to institute new *Articles of Faith, new Sacraments, or new Rules of general moral Practice, &c.*” But I have been proving (what all your Opposition, instead of defeating, hath concurred to establish;) that every Civil State hath a Sovereign Right to make *new Institutions*, for regulating the Form of external Administration of Things, Ecclesiastical as well as Secular, necessary to public Good, and consistently with the Laws of God. *I hope you'll take the Blame of this Repetition.*

If any Thing in the 39 Articles, as you seem to surmise, or elsewhere, be apprehended to bear hard upon any, I have shewn a Remedy. I know nothing that imposes any conscientious Difficulty upon me as a Lay-Communicant, which was all I proposed to shew in my Preface. And I cannot think myself obliged to contribute to the Disturbance of public Peace and Order, by interfering to assert the Cause of others; especially such, whose Office and Character has no necessary Ingrediency, I can possibly discover, in the public Utility; but I shall be forced to touch upon this again, in some brief Remarks upon the Postscript.

I HAVE omitted mentioning some Things bad enough, in the Reign and Troubles of *Charles I.* and in those of the following *pious* Usurpation. They don't belong to our Argument. I never pretended Ability or Inclination to vindicate all the Steps of the former nor to censure all, and I am sure you will not choose to do it for the latter. I'll here only mention one Thing Consequent to that long State of Confusion, which, tho' of no great Im-
por-

portance to our Argument, may be considered with Regard to Practice.

WE all know, there were Steps taken after the Restoration for the Accommodation of Ecclesiastical Affairs, in which I will not say, Resentment had no Influence. But this is what I choose to remark : That of the Terms proposed for the Admission or Continuance of the Presbyterian Ministers into, or in the Church, One was, their Re-ordination by Bishops. This bore hard upon them, and especially, as it was said to be aggravated by some Bishops, who insisted upon their signing a formal Disallowance of their former Ordination, as received from the Hands of Presbyters. They thought their Re-ordination itself too much implied an Impeachment of their former Ordination, and a Nullity of the ministerial Offices performed in Consequence thereof, without such an express Disavowance; as they were fully persuaded they were thereby, to all Christian and Ecclesiastical Purposes, constituted Ministers of the Gospel of Christ. This was Matter of great Debate. Some few submitted, but greater Numbers refused. But I think their Historians allow, that those Gentlemen would upon an Indulgence in this one Article have generally conformed. What I infer hence is, that as the Re-ordination has nothing to do with the modern Candidates, it does not appear how they can refuse their Compliance with the Terms now required, without impeaching the Conduct of those Gentlemen.

THUS, I think, I have given sufficient Answer to every Allegation of Mr. *Bourn*, of any Moment or Importance in the Debate. I am sure I have omitted nothing from any Apprehension of Difficulty, but some Particulars are so quite void of all Manner of Relation to the Question, and some so very trifling, as that their Answer would be of no Use.

I HAVE now to add something in Consideration of the Postscript, wherein I shall endeavour to preserve all the

Evidence possible of the Esteem I have for the Learning and Virtue of the Gentleman I apprehend to have been its Author; tho' of this I have not full Assurance.

HE says, my taking Occasion, from the Preacher's omitting to mention some Things I thought he should have mention'd, to write against the Dissenters, **is ridiculous and absurd**.—I might, perhaps, by entering into a particular Consideration of the **Aburd** and the **Ridiculous**, find some Exception against the Use of these two Words, on this Occasion; but out of Regard to the Gentleman I shall not reply; he hath, by Character, a Claim to *reprove* and *rebuke*, as well as to *exhort*; but I leave it to his Consideration, whether those two Words quite comport with the Qualifications prescribed as necessary to the proper Discharge of that Office, 2 *Tim.* iv. 2. ἐν πάσῃ μακροθυμίᾳ καὶ διδασκῇ; it rather appears to me to be not quite consistent with the former Requirement, nor to have much to do with the latter. May not a Person sometimes take a *slight* Occasion to do an agreeable Action, and yet not be chargeable with being *absurd* or *ridiculous*? Is not this something of a *railing Accusation*, such as the Arch-angel did not (*durst not*, ἐκ ἐτόλμησε) *bring against* the Devil himself, in a Disputation? *Jude* v. 9. Thus, I think, I might have objected against the Gentleman's Reproof, had the Crime been to the utmost **Malignity** of his Description. But the Affair is quite (and, I think, very plainly) perverted and mis-represented.

THE Minister's Omission of so fair an Opportunity, as his Subject gave him, to treat of the great evangelical Doctrine of *the Redemption of the World by the Blood of Christ*; really gave Occasion (as I have said before) to my writing the Book, which I have not yet finished and printed, on that Subject, in Order to establish the great End of the Redeemer's coming into the World, which I hope yet to finish; but this hath nothing to do with Conformity.—But the *Preface* was solely writ (quite contrary to what is said in the Postscript) ON OCCASION

of

of the Gentleman's mentioning some Things, I thought, he ought not to have mentioned; *viz.* his Challenge and Protest, p. ix. of the *Preface*.

I SHALL not go about to dispute the Propriety of Dr. *Whitby's* or Dr. *Tillotson's* Dissertations or Remarks upon *John* viii. 31, 32. they are certainly proper, but, I apprehend, were not meant to take in the whole Meaning of the Passage, nor did either of those great Men, by your Account, Sir, give so copious and extensive a Definition of the Sense of that Expression as Mr. S—did, when he said the Import of the Word *Truth*, in that Text, was *the Gospel of Christ*, at least he took it so. And as he professed, in Consequence of this Idea, to shew the Blessings accruing to Mankind by *the Gospel of Christ*, I could not imagine any other Reason, than that I have assign'd, for his very obnoxious Omission of what hath, by the Generality of Christian Teachers, been considered as the main Design of the Gospel, from the Days of the Apostles to our Days; even to *make us free, to redeem us from the Curse of the Law*, Gal. iii. 13. *by giving his Life a Ransom for MANY*. These are not the Words of Dr. *Whitby*, nor of Dr. *Tillotson*; but the Words of the **Son of God, the Saviour of the World**; and of the great Apostle commissioned, under the Inspiration of the most High, to publish the glad Tidings of the Gospel, not in the intricate Words of humane Wisdom, but in Terms plain and obvious to the lowest Class of People, *Luke* vii. 27. *πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται* the **Poor** have the Gospel preached unto them.

I LAY not much Stress on the Difference of ministerial and Lay-Conformity, there is nothing required, in the Latter, burthensom to me; and I beg the R. M. B. will excuse me from entring, in this Place, upon the Debate concerning the Scruples they make of Subscription. *Quæ supra nos nihil ad nos*. There is a very reverend, honourable, learned and pious Gentleman, every Way an Honour to his Character, knows my Sentiments, and what I am able to allege upon that Subject; but all the
bard

hard Speeches of Mr. B. shall not induce me to make such a needless Addition to this Piece, as the Consideration of that Affair would unavoidably be. What He calls a *loose Harangue*, is all I need to say, I meant, I mean to say no more, there is no Doubt of the Authenticity of Episcopal Ordination; and no Manner of Necessity, I can see, for the other. *Pref. P. 34, 35.*

My Observation of *reasoning Dissenters*, I am very confident, is true, and the Term proper, and I shall peaceably allow him to consider it as of as small Moment as he pleases; and allow him also his own Proportion of the reasoning Consenters, I am pretty much of his Mind.

I AM now come to the Article of Extempore Prayer, in which Account I choose to direct my Answer to *Whitworth's*, Jan. 6, upon the same Subject. And here, in the first Place, I am to acknowledge the Author's Favour, in his Complement of my *great Sagacity and Application*. For which I may perhaps be allowed not to be under so very much Obligation neither; — as he appears to mention this, only in Order to magnify his own far superior Ability, in being able to shew my very great Foible and Ignorance, as not having yet attained to the true Notion of speaking, and particularly of the Word or Idea, *Extempore*, and it would be a Wonder I should ever think of it as *he seems to be of Opinion I should.* — How One may be mistaken! — I thought I had been sufficiently instructed in this, full threescore Years ago. However, I'll not yet submit to think myself so compleat a Booby and Ignoramus, as the Letter so very complacently represents, without attempting somewhat in my own Vindication.

THIS Debate, I would previously observe, is of no Manner of Import in our Question, and might have passed without Repetition (as I wish it had) but that I happened to mention, a *premeditated extempore Prayer*, as a Contradiction *in Terminis* — an Affront not to be born! and for which I am demanded Satisfaction, and for my Conviction (of having been guilty of so groundless

groundless a Reproach) am referred to *Quintilian* among the Antients, and to *Bennet* amongst the Moderns.—As I am under the Misfortune of having neither of those Authors, and so not qualified to **disprove the Evidence**, I must beg Leave to assert my Innocence, and justify my own Cause otherwise, as well as I can, independently of those Authorities.

BAILEY's English Dictionary has been a long Time possess'd of a tolerable Degree of Reputation; and passed a Matter of twelve or thirteen Impressions. I there find as follows.

Extemporal	}	Extemporalis.	}	done or spoke in
Extemporary		Extemporarius.		the very Instant of

Time, **without studying or thinking before-hand**. This Account, I think, is full in my Favour, and shews I had Ground for my Opinion, that the *Latin* Adverb exactly concurs with our *English* One, *off Hand*.

THE next Evidence I bring, is from the *English Dictionary* of *SAMUEL JOHNSON*, A. M. in two Vols. Fol. Pr. £. 4. 10 s. (I hope no Body will scruple its Authority: He was indeed quite equal to the Work.) Where I find,

Extemporaneous, *adj.* [*Extemporaneus*, Latin.] **Without Premeditation**; sudden.

Extemporary, *adj.* [*extemporarius*, Latin.] Uttered or performed **without Premeditation**; sudden; quick.

Extempore, *adv.* [*extempore*, Latin.] **Without Premeditation**; suddenly; readily; without any previous Care or Preparation.

To Extemporize, *v. n.* [from *Extempore*] to speak *extempore* or **without Premeditation**.

It is undeniable, I think, that these two very Authentic *English* Writers are full in my Favour. Let's go on with our Evidence.

IN *LITTLETON's Latin Dictionary*, I find thus.

Extemporalis; *Quint.* *αὐτοχέδιος*, sudden, **without Premeditation or Study**;

Extem-

Extemporaneus; Quint. ἀμελέητος, αὐτοχέδιος id. quod extemporalis.

THE *English* and the *Latin* Part of this Exposition is indubitably in Confirmation of my Censure; and, for greater Corroboration, I consulted the Lexicons for the Interpretation of the *Greek* Words, and find

Scapula for αὐτοχεδιασί, writes *extempore non præmeditate*, and every one knows ἀμελέητος signifies *without Care or Premeditation*.

Constantine hath αὐτοχεδιάζω *temere negligenter ad rem accedo, ἀμελετητῶς λέγω ἢ χεάφω. Ἀυτοχεδιασῆς, qui extemporalem habet orationem*, which he expounds thus, ἀνεὺ φροντίδος τολμῶν λέγειν, *he that ventures to speak without Premeditation*.

Suetonius says of *Augustus Cæsar*, *neque in senatu neque ad populum, neq; ad milites locutus est unquam, nisi meditata et composita oratione, quamvis non defecerit ad subita, extemporalis facultate*, where it is undeniable, the *extemporalis facultate* is set in opposition to the *meditata et composita oratione*, which imports a studied Composition, *written or unwritten*.

THE same writes of *Flavius Vespasianus*, *Latinae Græcæq; linguæ promptus et facilis, ad extemporalitatem usq;* I need not direct you in the Interpretation.

I CANNOT forbear, from so many Evidences, full in my Favour, believing that I am *innocent of all Transgression*, in asserting that a *premeditated extemporaneous Performance*, smells strong of a Contradiction. It is plain, *Littleton* quotes *Quintilian* in Vindication of his Sense of the Word, which is *mine*, and such a *bungling Wretch* I am, as not to see enough, in the Author's Citation made from *Quintilian*, to set me right. There is a visible Difference betwixt reading or reciting *præeunte monitore*, and reciting extempore sive *ex pectore*; but I must still insist, that the Author's Affirmation, that *the Extempore does not exclude Premeditation*, is not sufficiently explained or confirmed; and, I am very sure, it is quite contrary to such Authorities as I have been enabled to quote above.

I THINK

I THINK it was not of much Necessity to any Part of our Argument, to represent what I had said, of the Difficulty of joining in an extemporary Prayer, under the polite Character of a **bungling Account**; especially, 'till the Gentleman had made it evident, by Experience, that he and I can fully conceive the Meaning of a long Sentence in one of *Tully's* Orations, &c. by hearing only the first Part of it pronounced; but as I am sure no Man alive can do that, without previous familiar Acquaintance with it, or a Spirit of Prophecy. I must still insist that, when I said I must wait 'till every Sentence of an extemporary Prayer be finished and approved, before I could make it a rational Act of Devotion; with all the concomitant Circumstances there related, I did give a true Account of that Affair, and such as is unalterably agreeable to the Nature of Things, be it as **bungling** as you will.

BUT let us, for the greater Precision, make an Experiment in a famous Sentence, in the Beginning of the Oration pro *A. Licinio Archia Poeta*, which is not near so long as very often occur, in the immortal Writings of that great Father of *Roman* Oratory. Of which Sentence I have transcribed a Branch a little before, to express my own Sense.

“ Si quid est in me ingenii, Judices, quod sentio quam
“ fit exiguum; aut si qua exercitatio dicendi, in qua me
“ non inficior mediocriter esse versatum; aut si hujusce
“ rei ratio aliqua ab optimarum artium studiis et disciplina
“ profecta, à qua ego nullum confiteor ætatis meæ tem-
“ pus abhorruisse: earum rerum omnium vel in primis hic
“ A, Licinius fructum à me repetere prope suo jure debet.”

A VERY obvious Reflection will convince the most obstinate, how impossible it would be, for an Hearer, to have taken in the great Orator's Sense and Conception in this Sentence, till the same had been (at least very nearly) finished. What Idea could any Audient have had thereof when the Word *ingenii* was pronounced? Nothing at all; nor any more from the Word *exiguum*.

What a State of Attention and Expectation must every One have been in, at his pronouncing the Words *exercitatio, inficior, abhorruisse*; nay, even at *hic Aulus Licinius*, &c. In short, what an *hiatus* must have been in the Mind of every Attendant, 'till the concluding Branch of the Sentence came to be pronounced. And yet I am very politely represented as a **bungling Fool**, for asserting that I am not capable of taking in the Sense of an extemporaneous Prayer, and making the same a rational, a devout Address of my own Mind to the most High, otherwise than *pedetentim* or *gradatim*, Step by Step, as the Sentences, one after another, come to be compleated (I must still add) and approved. What I have said in the Preface, of my own Experience, is certainly true in Fact: The Force of its Conclusion I shall not insist on, as **the Stupidity of the Attendant** might be an Obstruction to the ready Perception. I wish the Author of this very humane Reflection would sometime attend the publishing of a Proclamation by the Officer, as the same is dictated to him by a Clerk, and try the Truth of my Assertion in his own Perception of the Sense and Connection of such a Piece. I can tell; this Difficulty has, many a Time, given me a good Deal of Trouble, while I attended that Way of divine Worship. I am fully persuaded, whatever is alleged to the Contrary, that the Attention of the Mind may be more regular and constant to one Train of Action, than to two or more different and inconsistent ones, as, I think, I have, in the Preface, truly described them. It is urged, that Novelty preserves Attention——I know not but it may: But what Kind of Attention? To this Question I cannot give a better Answer, than in the Words of a very worthy Dissenting Minister.

“ FOR Want of a Form, Prayer, *says he*, is oftentimes a
 “ painful Thing, an Exercise of the Head only, without
 “ any Motion of the Heart and Affections.” *This is your*
Encrease of Attention by the Extempore. It is, you may imagine, not a small Pleasure, upon the casual falling of a Book
 into

into my Hands, within a few Days, thus to find the declared Sentiment of a Gentleman of the Character, concur so compleatly with the Description I had before given of the same Thing in my Preface.

THIS Declaration is more emphatically true of the Minister, as in the cited Passage; but the Attention of the Hearer is certainly liable to all that Waiting, that Distraction and Tumult, I have endeavoured to describe, and from which the uniform undisturbed Action of a devout Mind, in the Repetition of a customable Form, is quite free.

I REMEMBER to have formerly some where met with a Declaration of (I think) Bishop *Bull's*, on this Subject, to this Effect. "If all Men were like some Men, One might almost wish our public Prayers were all to be *Extempore*; but as *omnis ordo humani generis habet suum Vulgus*;" and as this *Vulgus* generally takes in much the greater Part, it is much for the general Advantage, that the public Offices of divine Worship should be from Forms authoritatively prescribed.

ARE you, Sir, as you seem, provoked that I have ventured to enter the Lists with a Person of so much superior Merit and Character? Don't take it amiss, Sir, I own your double Superiority, I have a Sense of, and a cordial Esteem for your valuable Qualifications, I assume not to be upon a Level; but we have as yet, in this Nation, by the Favour of Heaven, the Privilege of publishing a Difference of Sentiment or Persuasion from even a Dignitary, spiritual or secular. Titles and Dignities, Office or external Character, have nothing to do with the True and the False. It is as much my Duty to be satisfied in my own Mind, as any One's else; and I have as much Right to render a public Reason of my own Conviction and Conduct, especially in Case of *Censure and Reproach*, as my Opposers; and if I happen to allege any Thing which don't admit of a rational Answer or Contradiction, it is to be ascribed to the Justice of the Subject, not to any superior

Skill or Address in the Advocate. In short, in this Argument, the Ministers have, I own, some Thing to say *for themselves*, personally, which I have never yet seen answered; but I am very clear, that it has nothing to do with the People, *with me*, and lays no Manner of Obligation in Conscience upon me or others to enter into the Merit of their Scruples. — But to go on to the Conclusion. —

I don't deny but there may be a general Scheme of an Extemporary Prayer or Speech formed in the Mind, as I believe is mostly the Case; and the more of this, I think, generally the better is the Prayer, &c. *ceteris paribus*. But, at the same Time, it is, *with the less Propriety*, called an extemporary Prayer. We know a Gentleman, who ordinarily (I believe, always) preaches without Notes written at all; yet he does not profess to preach *extempore*: He preaches from a premeditated, precomposed Form, deposited in his Memory, which is, at least almost, as different from doing it *extempore*, as if his Sermon was read from a Copy, every Word written down. When Folks begin to give hard Language upon Things of no more Evidence and Moment than such as these are, it looks as if they were angry, and as if it were Time to leave off. — I have but a little more to add. Pray what Reproach or Calumny is it to the primitive Practice (*bona verba precor, ne sevi magne sacerdos*) to assert that I cannot possibly joyn so readily in an extemporary Prayer (under the Circumstances just described) as in a Form, which I am familiarly acquainted with? This Assertion don't alter the Nature of Things, it does not alter the Agreement or Disagreement of this with primitive Practice, it can't add or take off the least to or from the Truth of that Declaration, which therefore cannot be sinful. I have said before, I always will, to the best of my Power, cleave to Truth, and leave it to answer for its own Consequences. This Censure of Impiety is so like the Charge in *Whitworth's*, Jan. 6. mentioned before, that One would be inclined to believe it was out of the same Mine, and yet I have not thought it so.

PETER WHITFIELD

I HAVE

free and candid CONSIDERATIONS. 73

I HAVE by me *Chrystom's* Homilies, in the Original *Greek*, which must be acknowledged to be serious, useful, instructive, and even, as I have found them call'd, elegant Things; but when I compare these with the Discourses I had lately the Pleasure to read, of the Right Revd. L. Bishop of *London*, I think I may, without the least Reproach to the ancient (for we are here beyond the Limits of the *primitive*) Christian Church, or to the great Character of the Bishop of *Constantinople*, say (as I really think) that the latter are vastly more elegant, regular, instructive, persuasive, useful, &c. than the former. I can't but think, it is assuming a Power, God has not given, to censure of Impiety my Preference of a stated Form of Prayer before an unregulated, unpremeditated, extemporaneous One, let the Consequence be what it may; and it is no Diminution of a proper Regard for the primitive Church, to say so. I wish I may never be accused of any greater Crime, or upon better Grounds. I believe the Assertion of the universal Use of extemporary Prayer in the primitive Church, may be made by one Class of Men, with about as much Certainty, Truth and Usefulness, as the general Prevalence of formed Liturgies by another. I profess to you, I believe neither one nor t'other, and suppose either true, it would conclude nothing, because Precedents are not Laws. Had the Question, I have interested myself in, been as ambiguous, obscure and undeterminable as this, You had never seen a Word of this Debate, from the worthless Pen of,

S I R,

Your most cordial Friend

And Humble Servant,

PETER WHITFIELD.

1. **M**ULTA sunt ad humanas Societates rite administrandas necessaria, quæ summo Numini non collibuit instituire, quæq; sunt ideo humano Arbitrio, et auctoritate omnino definienda.

Ecclesia Christiana est huiusmodi societas, cujus ad externam administrationem non placuit summo Numini leges instituire necessarias.

Sunt ergo huiusmodi leges humano Arbitrio humanaq; Auctoritate instituendæ.

2. Summam potestatem contra summam potestatem, sive binas summas potestates in eodem Imperio, sive in eadem Civitate vel Republica, non fert rerum Natura.

At si necessaria quæcunq; ad res sacras rite administrandas, summo Numini non præscripta, sint hominibus duntaxat ecclesiasticis summo jure instituenda (*uti tradidit Borneius*;) necesse erit summa potestas contra summam potestatem; sive binæ summæ Potestates erunt in eodem Imperio, sive in eadem Civitate, vel Republica.

Ergo huiusmodi circa res sacras instituta ecclesiastica non fert rerum Natura.

ITERUM.

3. Quæcunq; sunt publicæ utilitatis, sive ad summam Reip. salutem necessario faciunt, nec sunt a Deo præscripta, summæ potestati sunt administranda.

At Instituta pro optima rerum sacrarum (sive cultus divini) administratione, non minus quam civilium, (sunt enim et illæ civiles) sunt publicæ utilitatis, sive ad summam salutem republicæ pertinentia.

Ergo huiusmodi Instituta sunt summæ potestati, suo jure præscribenda.

4. Ubi nulla Lex ibi nulla Transgressio, *Rom. 4. 15.*

At Exempla ex sacris literis vel praxi primitiva petita, non habent vim legum obligantem.

Ergo Instituta circa res sacras huiusmodi exemplis (ut pote non-legibus) not tenentur esse per omnia conformia.

Paucula hæc rite ac debite pensata palam facient, omnia *Borneio* tanto cum apparatu prolata, contra superius pronunciata et in præfatione nostra uberius exposita, nihil quicquam habere ponderis aut momenti; at in fumum spumamq; prius abire.

Mr. William Willock, Merchant of Liverpool
 Rev. Mr. Benjamin Withershead of Mazon
 Mr. Samuel Withershead, Liverpool
 Mr. William Whalley, Merchant of Liverpool
 Mr. John Wainwright, Brewer, of Liverpool
 Mr. Thomas Withershead, Gent. of Liverpool
 Mr. John Wilson, Cooper, Liverpool
 Mr. Thomas Wiskelsh, Merchant, of Liverpool
 Capt. Isaac Wynn of Liverpool
 Mr. Charles Ward
 Mr. George Wainwright of Woolton
 Mr. Thomas Wainwright, Merchant of Liverpool
 Capt. Samuel Wainwright of Liverpool
 Capt. Isaac Wainwright of Liverpool

ERRATA

In the CHRISTIANITY of the New Testament.

Page xiii. line 25. for *lets read left*, p. xl. 1. 9. for
Communication r. *Communion*, p. xlv. 1. 23. r. *Sanctorum*,
 p. 59. l. 33. r. *ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος*, p. 64. l. 1. 3. r. *Affertors*,
 p. 78. l. 22. r. *ἡ*, p. 163. l. 22. r. *phrasology*, p. 165.
 l. 14. *dele* ry. l. 26. r. *themselves*, p. 184. l. 26. after
bruised r. *for*, p. 224. l. 21. r. *Appetites*, p. 229. l. 3. r. *off*,
 p. 237. 33. r. *before mentioned*, p. 252. l. 11. r. *ἡ*, p.
 261. l. 26. for *in Exod. vi. 3.* r. *there*, p. 265. l. 24. r.
לשון, p. 274. l. 22. for *ἡ* r. *ἡ*.

ERRATA in the Reply, p. 10. l. 32. r. *ἡ*, p.
 33. l. 4. for *τὰς ἀν-* r. *τὰς ἀν-*, p. 43. l. 26. r. *Defence*
 of, p. 52. l. 21. r. *ipse*.

Cum paucis minoribus nulliusq; quoad sensum momenti.

Mr. Speak Williams, Holgrave
 Mr. Richard Wood of Woolton
 Mr. David Winlow of Liverpool
 Mr. Francis Warr of Pricot
 Mr. James Wainwright of Liverpool
 Mr. Giles Whalley, Officer of Excise, Wigan
 Mr. William Wood, Tanager, of Halswood
 Mr. John Wilewel of Garton
 Mr. Charles Woods
 Mr. Henry Whalley of Wood Pines
 Mr. Winkley of Hill-park

Y

Mr. Isaac Young of Hale
 Mr. Thomas Yates of Halswood
 Mr. Henry Yates of Osmeston

E. R. R. A. T. A.

In the Constitution of the State of Tennessee

Page xiii. line 22. for "the" read "the
Constitution of the State of Tennessee"
p. 22. line 22. for "the" read "the
Constitution of the State of Tennessee"
p. 22. line 22. for "the" read "the
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Constitution of the State of Tennessee"
p. 22. line 22. for "the" read "the
Constitution of the State of Tennessee"

4 AP 54

In the Constitution of the State of Tennessee
p. 22. line 22. for "the" read "the
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p. 22. line 22. for "the" read "the
Constitution of the State of Tennessee"
p. 22. line 22. for "the" read "the
Constitution of the State of Tennessee"

¹/_h ²/_h ³/_h
- 5. 6. 7 Ch. Math. - the principal parts
briefly considered p 246 - 311

- p 207 - Bochart one of the most learned men

Flapinets - p 201

Misery - p 216

Holmes - p 238

pref. p XXXV. Popish tyranny is entirely established upon the
absurd supposition of the 'Ecclesiastical administration being
sovereign' and independent of the civil government

"The Scripture Doctrine of Atonement examined"
preface p X (Lond 1750 8° - John Taylor 32) - ?

"Abraham Boush's Force and Candour ^{consideration}"
1755 8°

The: Warrter, Vicar of Waverham - An historical
Account of Earthquakes 8° 2f.

Second Thoughts concerning the sufferings and
death of Christ " p 147-185

An Essay on the nature, design, and origin of Sacrifice 1748 pp
(by Dr Sykes) 183
productions in favour of infidelity p 185

"The Rights of the Christian Church" a very obnoxious book
but the dissertation by way of preface unexceptionable p XIX
(1706 8° given Mr. Tindal?)

p 68 - Dr Byrom - On the fall of man in answer to Mr. Shute?
his works appear in the late edition of the British Poets - 1810 21v. 8°

"The Creation and Fall of Man" p 231 - given?

p 66 Reply to Boush - occasion of the Author's writing
66 8° - line 12 from bottom "full 60 years ago?"

51 8° Tendency of the doctrine of ecclesiastical exemption

